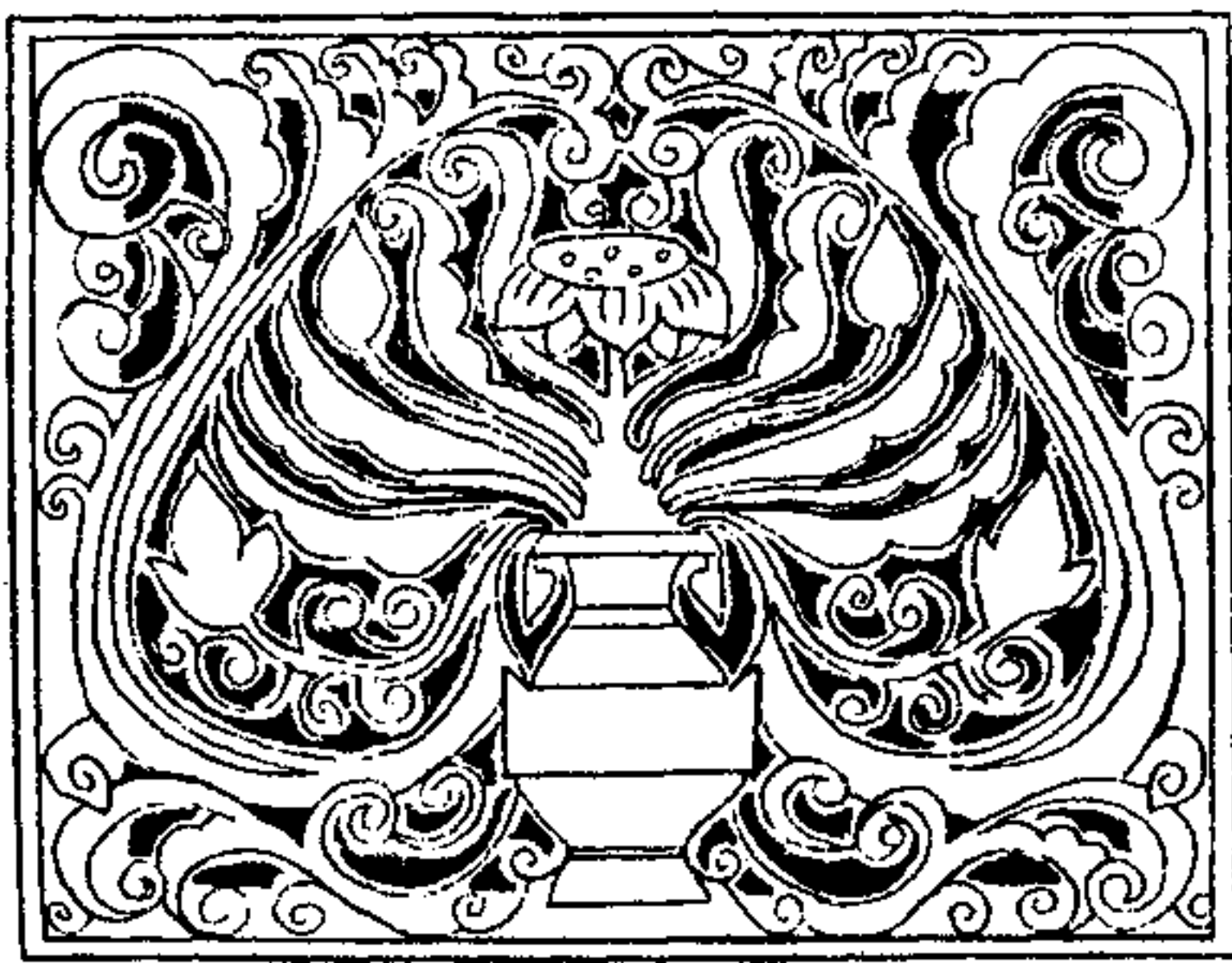




PRABUDDHA BHARATA

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Cover: A Panoramic view of Advaita
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JANUARY 2000

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उत्तिष्ठत
जाग्रत
प्राप्य
वरान्निबोधत



PRABUDDHA BHARATA

ARISE! AWAKE! AND STOP NOT TILL THE GOAL IS REACHED.

Vol. 105

JANUARY 2000

No. 1

VEDIC PRAYERS

सं गच्छध्वं सं वदध्वं
सं वो मनांसि जानताम्।
देवा भागं यथा पूर्वं
सं जानाना उपासते॥

—Rg Veda, 10.121.2

March forward as one! Speak as one!
Think as of one mind! Even as gods of old
accepted all offerings unitedly, give up dis-
cord and accept everything unitedly.

समानो मन्त्रः समितिः समानी
समानं मनः सह चित्तमेषाम्।
समानं मन्त्रमभि मन्त्रये वः
समानेन वो हव्रिषा जुहोमि॥

—Rg Veda, 10.121.3

May your prayers be one! May gains be
one! May thoughts and resolutions be one!
We teach you a common prayer, and offer a
common sacrifice on all your behalf.

समानी व आकूतिः
समाना हृदयानि वः।
समानमस्तु वो मनो
यथा वः सुसहासति॥

—Rg Veda, 10.121.4

May your objective be one! May your
hearts be one! May your minds be one! And
may your aspirations be one and pleasing to
all!

परीत्य भूतानि परीत्य लोकान्
परीत्य सर्वाः प्रदिशो दिशश्च।
उपस्थाय प्रथमजामृतस्यात्म-
नाऽत्मानमभि सं विवेश॥

—Yajur Veda, 32.11.1

All beings are divine! All worlds are di-
vine! Everything is divine! All corners are
divine! Knowing this, the intelligent person
will attain the Divine alone.

The Great Message

EDITORIAL

Heartiest greetings! How fortunate all of us are to be living at such a marvellous period in the world's advancement, and to be witnesses to such a glorious occasion! How wonderful it is to be at the threshold of the new millennium! 'The longest night seems to be passing away, the sorest trouble seems to be coming to an end at last...' prophesied Swami Vivekananda. How true his words are! The new century and the new millennium are inviting us into a new world altogether—into a radiant new life. This splendid change should not be construed as just another change in calendar. It is far more momentous than that. Incidentally, doubts are being expressed whether the new century and millennium begin this January or the next. Let the whole year—January to January—be a grand occasion for celebration. If some small institution can celebrate its centenary all round the year, the world's centenary and millennium could be a grander one. So let us all join this wonderful carnival.

The Problem of the Past

We all want the world to be a glorious one, brimming with bliss, peace and plenty. We hate suffering and misery. Is it possible to achieve this seemingly Utopian dream? Perhaps it is. There is a royal way to achieve that goal of peace and plenty. However, we should first of all know what we exactly want and what we do not, so as to avoid the undesirable. In order to know this, we should look back into our past to take stock of our inheritance. History is crucial. It is out of the murky waters of the past that the lotus of the present blooms—culturally, socially, psychologically, spiritually. So, knowing the past is very important to advance into the future. Our past is an ideal teacher: it teaches us how to avoid pitfalls and to live in peace and happi-

ness. Let us, therefore, look back. Though it would be a very superficial study, we shall peep into our past thousand years to have a glimpse of our history.

The year 997 of our times—precisely 1003 years ago—and ancient India came to an end. A glorious ancient India, wealthy and prosperous, spiritual and intellectual, peaceful and joyous, had grown an air of complacency by about the 7th century CE. This led to India's weakening. There were four major Indian dynasties ruling over the five parts of India then. In the south, the glamorous Rashtrakuta empire, founded by Dantidurga in 733 CE, dug its grave in 974 CE. In the north and the west, the Pratiharas were strong during the 830s but succumbed to inner conflicts by 950 CE. In the east, the glorious Pala dynasty, which appeared invincible under Dharmapala, collapsed by 1000 CE. Finally, in central India, it was the Gurjaras: they were struggling to retain their power by the end of the 10th century, and the year 1018 saw their expiration. Thus, though there were some little kingdoms like the Chahamanas, Chalukyas, Pandyas, Cholas, and so on, the nation on the whole had gone into a stunning slumber. By the time the second millennium began, there was virtually no indigenous reign at all apart from some small kingdoms. So India was left to the mercy of invaders. There were some flashes of valour and vitality intermittently, no doubt; but soon these had to die down under powerful onslaught.

In 997 CE, Sabuktigin's son Abu-l-Qasim Mahmud conquered Ghazni and founded Afghanistan's Turkish empire, and turned his eyes towards India. That ended ancient India's glory, and medieval India was born. What were medieval India's salient features? Pogrom, plunder, looting, arson, carnage,

forced-converting, destroying, and so on. Ghazni Mahmud's 17 rounds of ferocious looting was not all; there was a succession of looting sprees. Mohammed Ghorī, who killed Prithwiraj Chauhan in 1193, drove the last nail in ancient India's coffin. Then came a long line of usurpers and power-seekers: Iltutmish's Slave dynasty, the Khalji dynasty, the Tughlaq dynasty, the Bahamanis in the south, the Mughals, and the interlude of Nadir Shah's attack. These were one category. The other was pestilence and plague, famines and cyclones. Despite all this, slowly, India crawled towards what may be termed modernity. By modern India we mean the advent of the Portuguese, the French, and finally, the British. Just over five decades back India became free.

This, however, is one face of the coin. The last millennium had some bright edges too. Great monuments like the Taj Mahal apart, artistic excellences apart, there were great spiritual upheavals. By 8th century CE, Sankara had already given the world the greatest philosophical ideal, the Advaita. Next came Ramanuja in 1018, who taught the highest ideal of bhakti. Thus India, which already had the Vedic *karmakāṇḍa*, the Sankhyans, the Yogins, the Buddhists, and the Jains, now had the highest ideals of the paths of knowledge and devotion also. In later centuries, Madhva, Caitanya, Nimbarka, Vallabha and others modified and presented certain varying versions of bhakti. While the great Akbar and others tried several methods to bring about a fusion between cultures, scholars like Dara Shukhoh and others studied and translated several Sanskrit works into Persian and other languages. Then there were a great number of saints, who tried their utmost to bring about some awakening in the sleeping masses: Gorakhnath, Nanak, Kabir, Ramananda, Tulsidas, Meera, Basava, Guru Gobind Singh, Dadu, and so on, to name just a few. Finally came Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda.

Now, let us have a glimpse of the story

of the rest of the world during the past millennium. Just as we have the Internet booming with information days before the beginning of our new millennium, William the Conqueror had compiled the Domesday book days before the last millennium, which was a thorough information about everything—to the last animal—in England. Do some people think alike every thousand years? Otto I was enthroned in 963 CE by Pope John XII but dethroned the very next year. This is merely to show how fast-changing the world was. The disastrous Crusades, the Great Plague, pestilence, conquests by the likes of the ruthless Chengiz Khan, the Hundred Year War, the French civil war, Sulaiman the Magnificent's brilliant rule, the founding of the United States, the discoveries of newer countries, the ignominious slave trade, the feudal conflicts, and then to our own times when we fought two great wars which led to the unfortunate Holocaust—all are history now. Millions upon millions were butchered by so-called civilized people, and this trend only continues—El Salvador, Kosovo, Bosnia, Indonesia, Chechnya, and so on are living instances.

There is the other face of world history too. There was the Renaissance. There were the cultural and artistic revivals. There were scores of philosophers: Bacon, Spinoza, Voltaire, Kant, Schopenhauer, Spencer, Nietzsche, etc. There were hundreds of martyrs and saints: Al Ghazali, Dominic, Francis of Assisi, Rumi, I'bn Arabi, R'abia, Theresa of Avila, John of the Cross, etc. There were schisms: the breaking away of the Eastern Orthodox Church from the Roman Catholic Church (and the reunion some years ago); the Protestants, and other big and small groups. Finally, there were inventions: from the printing-press to the Internet, we have come a long, long way. We have walked on the moon and conquered the frontiers of space. We have divided and re-divided an element to its tiniest part. Thus the last millennium's story is one of splendid growth and heinous de-

struction, melodious music and jarring notes, wonderful discoveries and harmful inventions, heights of spirituality and abysmal depths of immorality, the glory of mass communication and the ignominy of mass destruction—a very, very unique contrast.

What does all this show? First, it shows that there are always two sides: the world is a mixture of good and evil and the two appear to be always there, almost in equal proportion. Second, it shows that human beings are by nature at the crossroads. We are, to use an illustration, on the mountainside. We stand at such a place on the mountain that from there, we may either choose to go down or shoot up. The mountain peak is hidden in golden clouds, is brilliantly fair and immensely beautiful, while the gorge below is hidden in stunning darkness. We have a third alternative, too, which is to go round and round on the mountain, without gaining anything at all.

The Quest for the Future

The question of questions is this: Shall we go on like this endlessly—playing the fool's game of light and shade, of good and evil, of laughing one moment and weeping the other? Shall we go on endlessly—suffering now and smiling next—with the vain hope that there may be happiness in store for us in future? If this succession of good and bad should go on endlessly, whether it is this millennium or ten more, our lives will be the same: we shall not grow and be happy. Should human life be an endless journey in this world of pain and pleasure, then?

Fortunately not. We are here on this mountain to climb up and up and reach the summit. Reach up we shall, all of us; for that is why we have come here. No one goes to the mountain to slip into a gorge. No one goes to walk round and round eternally, without climbing up or down. We shall have to climb up, reach the peak, and enjoy the sun's splendour. That is the glory of human nature. That is our true disposition. So we should know the technique of mountaineering. We should know the pitfalls in order to avert accidents.

And that is precisely why we should look into the past.

We gleaned the past. We read about sad events that took place then. No doubt there were positive notes, and we should go for them. However, our concern is, how to avoid the negative ones, or the mistakes that we committed in the past? Historians warn that if we do not learn lessons from history, history repeats itself. First of all, what made the tyrants do what all they did? What was the reason for their sliding down the precipice, to use our example? It was greed—greed for wealth and greed for power. When Ghazni Mahmud adroitly plundered India, when Chengiz Khan cleverly pillaged the West, it was lust for wealth and power that drove them mad. Secondly, when there were uncontrolled pogroms, mass murders, and inhuman tortures in the name of religion, what was the reason? What made a Babar or a Hitler kill so many thousands? It was the conviction that there are fundamental differences: in people, in faith, in outlook, in life. 'I am great, you are a brute; my religion is superior, yours is not; my faith is the only faith, and you are an infidel. I am one, you are another.' Such differences, fuelled by pride and arrogance, led to disastrous consequences. Have differences gone today? Take India's instance. We fought for centuries to root out the bane of casteism and its consequent differences; but now, we have regionalism! And the world has the problem of racism staring at it. Thirdly, we saw rampant immorality, corruption, meanness, hatred, and so on, which extended their shameless tentacles all over the globe. What could be the reason? It was lack of love—love for oneself, for a higher ideal, for purity, for humanity. Thus, greed, differences, and hate were the causes of our ignominious past, which seem to threaten us even now.

We all aspire to see the world to be a heaven where there is eternal bliss. Though we know that both good and bad are there almost in equal proportion in the world, we

still aspire to shun bad. Why this drive? It is because we are basically good. Evil is an aberration—a jarring note in life's symphony. We do not want evil because *we* are not evil. We are gods. We do not belong here. Is not the world our springboard? Ours is a different place: we belong to the Divine where everything is good. Our goal is something higher. Since we are divine and this world, too, is divine, evil in this world is an aberration. It *has* to be rooted out.

One more thing. We are not isolated beings, left in the lurch without a caring someone. We have a creator. He loves us. He sends messengers. These messengers come to remind us: they repeatedly show us the proper way. They have been showing the way since ages. But there are differences in their capacity to deliver. Sometimes we do not hear low voices. The voice that guides us amid the din and bustle of the world should be the loudest. When the situation comes to this, when his messengers are not heard clearly, he himself comes. This time, he came as Sri Ramakrishna.

The greatest teaching of Ramakrishna is renunciation. What is its significance? Consider our example. We cannot go down and go up a mountain simultaneously. To love the darkness of the gorge and to love the brilliance above simultaneously is impossible. To attain the higher without giving up the lower is impossible. To reach the summit, to attain the supreme end, we should renounce our lower self. If ancient India was prosperous and wealthy, it was because of its ideal of renunciation: studying ancient India's history will tell us long stories about this ideal. India was ruined once the ideal of greed set foot. No greedy man or king was ever at peace—their greed alone dug their graves. This is very clear from history. So, if we want happiness and peace, we should do one simple thing: give up desires. Once desires are given up, there is contentment, and we become free. We shall then have everything.

Swami Vivekananda's great ideal is one-

ness. We are all one. There is a basic unity though apparent differences are visible to untrained eyes. There is *nothing* separate here: no caste divisions, no racial divisions, no regional differences. The divisions are all skin-deep and false. Hence oneness should be the song of the new millennium. Is oneness physical? During the 19th and early 20th centuries, physical and mental oneness was tried, but it failed. Oneness should be on a different plank altogether. And that plank is of the Spirit. Swamiji showed the world that the Spirit is one. The covering alone appears different but not the essence. So what shall we desire and why? When we look back to see how our forefathers were murdered and butchered and gassed and tortured, we must pity the torturers also, because they were torturing themselves. In hurting others, we hurt ourselves, simply because we are one. Practising this ideal has far-reaching consequences. This simple truth works in the religious field also. Swamiji's first talk on the world-stage was about harmony and oneness. No religion is greater or lesser than another—all are one, he declared. The quarrels in the name of religion are childish and immature.

Thus, while Sri Ramakrishna's ideal of renunciation will work against greed and covetousness, Swamiji's ideal will work against differences. The two great causes of all suffering during the past millennium were greed and differences. Ramakrishna and Vivekananda gave precise medicines—renunciation and oneness—to cure them, so that the world may be peaceful.

We saw that greed and differences led to hatred in the past. How to overcome hatred? How to practise oneness in actual life? How to apply these ideals of renunciation and oneness in practical life? How can these ideals be practised in a world which is torn by differences? Here comes Holy Mother. 'No one is a stranger, my child. The world is your own,' was her greatest teaching. Mother showed that love is the only driving force in the world.

Though she did not know much of philosophy, though she was a simple village woman for all practical purposes, she conquered the world with her love. Love can conquer anything. Through love, we can tame a villain, and transform a lion into a lamb. Mother came to teach motherly love to the world. In this motherly love we find answers to all our problems. A mother hates none of her children: all are same to her. Moreover, in loving others we love ourselves. And this 'ourselves' is not the body or the mind, but the Self within. All else will die but not the Self. The Upanishadic dictum is that no one loves the other for other's sake but for the sake of the Self alone. This love for the Self presupposes love for the ideal. The ideal, we repeat, is reaching the summit. Once we take this ideal to heart, whether we are businesspersons or managers, pundits or commoners, teachers or warriors, monks or laity, we shall give our life more and more towards reaching the goal. This will bring about the Golden Age. Thus, if greed, differences and hate were responsible for the troubles of our past, we have renunciation, oneness and love for the future.

We had also mentioned one more cause of mass-destruction: natural calamities. The recent painful tragedies in Turkey and Taiwan, and Orissa, are great examples. How can we overcome these afflictions? Science, with its effective progress, must take care of natural calamities. Science has shown its ugly face, apart from the creative one, in the past. In future, let it work for human welfare only. Let science strive to ameliorate natural calamities. However, there is also the question of karmic influences, and for this, performing good deeds is the answer. Good deeds and prayer will cut asunder the cause-and-effect chain, assures Sri Ramakrishna. The ideals we

mentioned—renunciation, oneness and love—will help achieve better cooperation, mutual help, service, etc, and these will go a long way in fighting disasters.

Thus the equilateral triangle of renunciation, oneness and love will be the guiding force for the future. That is, these three are the pillars on which the world will stand. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (2.23.1) says that there are three branches of dharma (*trayo dharma-skandhāḥ*). This can be used in the case of the three ideals mentioned above also. Studying our past shows us that for the first time such a holistic and complete ideal has been given to us: no dogmatism, no narrowness, nothing that divides.

This, therefore, is the beginning of a new world altogether. This is *Satya Yuga*, the Golden Age. The missionary calling for the future will be to tell everyone about this golden triangle. With the world becoming very small owing to the communication boom, things have become easier to convey. Let us convey this ideal with zeal. Let us bring heaven down to earth.

In this special number, *Prabuddha Bharata* presents some of the triumphs of the past millennium in certain aspects of philosophy, religion, science, culture, etc. There are also articles by eminent thinkers and holy men; they have seen the world through and through and have suggested steps for our improvement, based on their lifetime's experience. Then there is the youth dialogue. We thank all our contributors for their kind cooperation. Regular features will be resumed from next month.

Let us all pray for a happy, peaceful and prosperous new year, new century, and new millennium. □

All religions are different expressions of the same truth; all march on or die out. They are the radii of the same truth, the expression that variety of minds requires.

—Swami Vivekananda

Millennia: Old and New

SWAMI RANGANATHANANDA

We express our gratitude to Srimat Swami Ranganathanandaji Maharaj, President, Ramakrishna Math and Ramakrishna Mission, for this illuminating article. Vast experience, deep learning, extensive tours in various parts of the globe, decades of spiritual ministration to various cultures—all make Revered Maharaj look at world events in his uniquely integral way. His ideas for our betterment are vital and imperative.

The twentieth century has great achievements for human development to its credit. Two broad divisions of its achievements are: (1) revolutionary scientific developments, and (2) the ending of centuries-long Western colonialism and imperialism. The scientific developments relate to revolutionary achievements in physics and biology. The development of quantum physics with its uncertainty principle, and the discovery of tremendous nuclear energy locked up in a piece of matter, are great achievements. Certain developments in nuclear science, especially the nuclear bomb, are going to be big problems to be faced by the third millennium. In biology, breaking the chemical code of DNA and RNA, and the whole development of genetics, are great achievements. Biology today is, however, confronted with the problem of the goal of human evolution.

Sir Julian Huxley, a very noted biologist, has discussed this problem of the goal of human evolution in his last book, *Evolution: A New Synthesis*, which, he told me in a letter, he considered as his best book. Till the human stage, evolution did not pose any problem of a goal. But rising to the human level, it just raises the question, What is the direction and goal of this human evolution? Huxley has left it with a question mark after suggesting certain ideas as questions to be answered.

In his book Huxley says (p. 577), 'The future of progressive evolution is the future of man. The future of man, if it is to progress and not merely be a standstill or a degenera-

tion, has to be guided by a deliberate purpose.' These ideas are perfectly in tune with the temper and thought of the ancient Indian Upanishads; and the Upanishads hold a vital human legacy for the enrichment of modern thought and for the quickening of man's evolutionary pace towards total fulfilment. Huxley considers fulfilment as the goal of human evolution.

Huxley says that human evolution should not 'merely be a standstill or a degeneration.' Vedanta teaches that life, being a journey to fulfilment, must not be allowed to stagnate at any stage. This clarion call to all humanity is given in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, in the famous verse (1.3.14):

Uttiṣṭhata jāgrata

prāpya varān nibodhata;

Kṣurasya dhārā niṣitā duratyayā

durgam pathas-tat kavayo vadanti.

Arise, awake! Approaching the great ones, enlighten yourself; for that path is like the sharp edge of a razor, difficult to tread and hard to cross: so say the sages (who have experienced it).

Huxley says, 'Man, as we had stressed, is in many respects unique among animals; his progress must take into account his unique features as well as those he shares with other life.' This is emphasized in the Vedantic formulation of the four *puruṣārthas* or things sought after by every human being: *dharma*, the science of values; *kāma*, sensory desires; *artha*, wealth, for the satisfaction of sensory desires; and *mokṣa*, spiritual libera-

tion. They go further than what Huxley conceives of, both as to man's uniqueness and his purposes. This refers specially to the last one, *mokṣa*, spiritual liberation through spiritual realization, about which modern biology knows nothing.

Huxley further suggests, 'Obviously, the formulation of an agreed purpose for man as a whole will not be easy.' To this I will say, 'We shall make it easy.' We shall give to the world a new science, the science of the human being in depth, the science of human possibilities. Out of this science you will get all the ingredients needed for a fuller human evolution—the goal of that evolution as well as its stages. In spite of all the scientific materials available to us, by studying only physical nature we cannot achieve this purpose. Then Huxley continues: 'There have been many attempts already. Today we are experiencing the struggle between two opposed ideals.' All these statements never take into account the ideals and ideas presented in the Vedanta; Western scientists do not know them. But what they know they present to us, and we Vedantins gladly accept them but go still further in the light of the data we have gathered from investigation into the deeper dimensions of human nature.

Then Huxley says, 'Another struggle still in progress is between the idea of progress directed to the idea of a future life in a supernatural world, and one directed to progress in this existing world. Until such major conflicts are resolved, humanity cannot have one single major purpose and progress can be but fitful and slow.' The conflict between this world and the supernatural Vedanta blew off long ago. In many Upanishads, spiritual realization and fulfilment in life are considered as something to be attained *here and now*, on this earth. In the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (1.2.10), you will find strong language against the desire to go to a supernatural world:

*Iṣṭāpūrtam manyamānā varīṣṭham
nānyac-chreyo vedayante pramūḍhāḥ;
Nākasya prṣṭhe te sukṛte'nubhūtvā-*

imam lokam hīnataram vā viśanti.

Utter fools are they who think that they will do some ritual and attain merit here, and enjoy in the highest heaven; and they think that there is nothing better.

Now, this kind of language you get in plenty in the Upanishads and the *Bhagavadgītā*, because the sages discovered the presence of the Divine in every human being and said that this truth can be realized here and now and not in some heaven in future. This is the significance of that profound *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* utterance, '*Tat tvam asi*, That thou art.' So, long ago, Vedanta dismissed that very concept of the supernatural world, and propounded that evolutionary progress and fulfilment are to be achieved in this very world. So, what biology denies today has been denied by Vedanta long ago.

The human being is unique in more ways than one, says Julian Huxley in his book *Uniqueness of Man*. Vedanta says that the highest human capacity is in realizing the very source of the universe, namely Brahman, the infinite non-dual Consciousness, which is also the one Self in all beings. This is conveyed in one phrase by the *Bhāgavata* (11.9.28): '*Brahmāvaloka dhiṣaṇam*, (intellect) endowed with the capacity to realize Brahman.' If this is not accepted, man's choices remain less than the highest.

The human being has the capacity to build up a world of peace and harmony and total human satisfaction. He can also destroy this world, for which the nuclear bombs of physics and the chemical bombs of chemistry are available to him. It is therefore, Huxley himself suggests, that modern science must develop further, for which he suggested the development of a new science, and called it 'the science of human possibilities.' This science was developed and tested in ancient India a few thousand years ago. Its truths are found in the Upanishads, Bhagavan Buddha's teachings, and in Sri Ramakrishna's teachings in the modern age.

The twentieth century has witnessed the

release from colonial and imperial yoke, along with India, of other nations in Asia and Africa. The voice of these people had been stifled for a few centuries, and the second part of the twentieth century saw their release from such colonial slavery. Africa was considered a 'dark continent' by the western nations. That darkness is yielding place today to steady brightness through the spread of education. During my nine days' lecture tour of Zambia in 1974, I addressed several high schools and was impressed by the intelligence and alertness of the students. In the new millennium, the dark Africa will become a bright Africa and an advanced continent.

The end of the Second World War also witnessed the formation of a new international organization, viz the UNO, which has functioned very usefully through some of its branch institutions such as the UNESCO, WHO, World Bank, etc; however, it has been unable to withstand the political manipulation by some highly powerful nations. The collapse of the Marxist Soviet Union, thanks to internal forces, was another landmark in the past millennium.

India, being a victim of history for a thousand years, whose voice had been stifled for two centuries under British rule, showed itself as the creator of history even during the British colonial period, when Swami Vivekananda threw a few Vedantic thought-bombs at the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893 and in several cities in USA, and also in England. The last century of the second millennium saw the slow spread of Vedantic ideas in India and the Western world.

The greatest contribution of the science of human possibilities, which I mentioned earlier, to the world at large is going to be during the third millennium. Its central teaching is Advaita—non-duality. We are all spiritually one. There is no place for hatred, violence and war in it. Here is a beautiful verse about this Advaitic ideal from the *Māṇḍūkya Kārikā* (4.2) by Gaudapada of the seventh century CE, the guru's guru of the great

Sankaracharya:

*Asparśa-yogo vai nāma
sarvasattva-sukho hitaḥ;
Avivādo-'viruddhaś-ca
deśitas-tam namāmyaham.*

I salute that great person who taught this yoga of *asparśa*, well known as the philosophy of non-duality, which seeks the happiness and welfare of all beings and which is free from disputation and contradiction.

This great, ancient science of human possibilities has the power to digest the evil potential of physical science—like nuclear war, chemical war, etc—and make for international peace, harmony and cooperation for the benefit of all humanity. The second millennium passed on with a question mark left to the third millennium, the possible positive answer to which depends on the spread of the universal, unifying, and pacifying philosophy and spirituality of Advaita Vedanta.

So far as India is concerned, the second millennium had many things to its credit. The most important blessing was the reinstatement of our democratic state. This system has stood firm during the last fifty years in spite of many ups and downs. India has a highly efficient and technical manpower and has had numerous achievements to its credit, including substantial achievements in space technology. But India has entered this new century with the problem of the removal of poverty and illiteracy of over three hundred millions of its population. This is closely connected with the stabilization of its birthrate, which has risen to about one thousand million now from about three hundred million just fifty years ago.

The new century is bound to achieve the state of social stabilization and zero population growth; already, one state, Kerala, has achieved this zero population growth; and Karnataka and Tamil Nadu are on the way. The work of national integration, going on since the last half a century, will intensify in the twenty-first century. The spread of Vedantic ideas in the country is bound to

bring value-awareness and refinement in behaviour among our people in general, and politicians and administrators in particular.

According to the world's history, national union and the strength of any state used to lead to its expansion. That found expression in military aggression against neighbouring states, or, in recent history, in imperial and colonial expansion, exploitation, and extensive genocide. This was one sad experience in the second millennium, especially due to some European states and Japan. But since the end of the Second World War, a new atmosphere of international cooperation through such institutions as the UNO, as mentioned earlier, has set in, along with increasing global awareness. The first century of the third millennium has the challenge before it to take the world to a state of international peace and harmony and general human fulfilment.

India's contribution in this direction is of immense importance and significance. In its five-thousand-year history, it has never engaged in any military aggression on its neighbours, even when it had political and military

strength. Its influence on other parts of the world has been cultural and spiritual. As mentioned earlier, Swami Vivekananda conquered the heart and mind of USA and England in the last decade of the nineteenth century; he later declared in India that that was the way of India's expansion and conquest. Here are his own words (*Complete Works*, Vol. 3, p. 110): 'Slow and silent as the gentle dew that falls in the morning, unseen and unheard, yet producing a most marvellous result, has been the work of this calm, patient, all-suffering spiritual race, upon the world of thought.'

Indian philosophy and spirituality have a great role to play to bring international peace and harmony; and I found, during my several lecture tours abroad, that the Western world is waiting for this rational philosophy and spirituality of Vedanta, which makes, in Swami Vivekananda's own words, 'a Hindu a better Hindu, a Christian a better Christian, a Muslim a better Muslim,' and strangely enough, an atheist and agnostic a better atheist and agnostic—and more human! □

A Psalm of Life

Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
Life is but an empty dream!
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem.

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;
But to act, that each tomorrow
Find us farther than today.

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of life,
Be not like dumb driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!

Trust no Future, howe'er pleasant!
Let the dead Past bury its dead!
Act,—act in the living Present!
Heart within, and God o'erhead!

Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any rate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

Heralding a Global Community

THE DALAI LAMA

Whoever has not heard of His Holiness the Dalai Lama? Venerable Tenzin Gyatso, the fourteenth Dalai Lama, is renowned the world over as a harbinger of peace. Here are his invaluable thoughts to help us realize the dream of a glorious future.

As the twentieth century draws to a close, we find that the world has grown smaller and the world's people have become almost one community. Political and military alliances have created large multinational groups, industry and international trade have produced a global economy, and worldwide communications are eliminating ancient barriers of distance, language and race. We are also being drawn together by the grave problems we face: overpopulation, dwindling natural resources, and an environmental crisis that threatens our air, water and trees, along with the vast number of beautiful life forms that are the very foundation of existence on this small planet we share.

For some time, I have been thinking about how to increase our sense of mutual responsibility and the altruistic motive from which it derives. Whether we like it or not, we have all been born on this earth as part of one great human family. Today's world requires that we accept the oneness of humanity. Nowadays, events in one part of the world eventually affect the entire planet. In the context of our new interdependence, considering the interests of others is clearly the best form of self-interest. The necessity for cooperation can only strengthen mankind, because it helps us recognize that the most secure foundation for the new world order is not simply broader political and economic alliances, but rather each individual's genuine practice of love and compassion. For a better, happier, more stable and civilized future, each of us must develop a sincere, warm-hearted feeling of brotherhood.

Interdependence of Life

In Tibet we say that many illnesses can be cured by the one medicine of love and compassion. These qualities are the ultimate source of human happiness, and our need for them lies at the very core of our being. Practising altruism is the real source of compromise and cooperation; merely recognizing our need for harmony is not enough. A mind committed to compassion is like an overflowing reservoir—a constant source of energy, determination and kindness. Therefore, we should not limit our expressions of love and compassion to our family and friends.

When I consider the lack of cooperation in human society, I can only conclude that it stems from ignorance of our interdependent nature. For instance, millions of people live together in large cities all over the world, but despite this proximity, many are lonely. This is very sad. I believe that despite the rapid advances made by civilization in the previous century, the most immediate cause of our present dilemma is our undue emphasis on material development alone. To me it is clear: a genuine sense of responsibility can result only if we develop compassion. Adopting an attitude of universal responsibility is essentially a personal matter. The real test of compassion is not what we say in abstract discussions but how we conduct ourselves in daily life. Still, certain fundamental views are basic to the practise of altruism. Though no system of government is perfect, democracy is that which is closest to humanity's essential nature. To work as one, we must respect the right of all peoples and nations to maintain

their own distinctive character and values. In particular, a tremendous effort will be required to bring compassion into the realm of international business and in the field of modern science. If we do not base our every action on an ethical foundation, we run the risk of inflicting terrible harm on the delicate matrix of life.

Religious Diversity

Nor are the religions of the world exempt from this responsibility. The purpose of religion is not to build beautiful churches or temples, but to cultivate positive human qualities such as tolerance, generosity and love. One religion, like a single type of food, cannot satisfy everybody. According to their varying mental dispositions, some people benefit from one kind of teaching, others from another. Thus there is no reason to engage in divisive religious bigotry and intolerance, and every reason to cherish and respect all forms of spiritual practice.

I see compassion, love and forgiveness as common ground for all different religions, irrespective of tradition or philosophy. Although there are fundamental differences between different religious ideas, such as the acceptance of an Almighty Creator, every religion teaches us the same message: be a warm-hearted person. Now in ancient times when the various religions were based in different places there was less communication between them. But today, the world has become much smaller, so communication between different religious faiths has become very strong. Under such circumstances, I think pluralism among believers is very essential. After all, in humanity there are so many mental dispositions, so simply one religion, no matter how profound, cannot satisfy all the variety of people. For instance, in spite of such a diversity of religious traditions, the majority of people still remain unattracted by religion. Of the five billion people, I believe only around one billion are true religious believers. The rest of humanity remain in the true sense non-believers. So one

religion obviously cannot satisfy all of humanity. Under such circumstances, a variety of religions is actually necessary and useful, and therefore the only sensible thing is that all different religions work together and live harmoniously, helping one another. There are positive developments recently and I have noticed closer relations forming between various religions.

Challenges before Religions

In the history of humanity there have been very tragic events which came about because of religion. Even to this day, we see that conflicts arise in the name of religion and the human community is further divided. If we were to meet this challenge, then I am sure we would find that there are enough grounds on which we can build harmony between the various religions and develop a genuine respect towards each other.

Another important challenge facing humanity now is the issue of environmental protection. In fact, a number of prominent environmentalists have expressed their wish to see more active initiatives taken by the different religious traditions and especially by their leaders. I think this is a wish that is very valid. Personally, I feel that much of the environmental problem really stems from our insatiable desire, lack of contentment, and greed. It is in the religious teachings that we find various instructions that enable us to keep a check on our desires and greed, and to positively transform our behaviour and conduct. Therefore, I think religious traditions have not only a potential but also a great responsibility to make contributions in that direction.

Another thing that I consider very important, and which is a responsibility that religious traditions must take upon themselves, is the putting forward of a united front against war and conflict. I know that in human history there have been a few cases where, through war, freedom has been won and certain goals have been achieved. But I personally believe that war cannot ever lead

to the ultimate solution of a problem. Therefore, I think it is important for all the religious traditions to take a united stand and voice their opposition to the very idea of war. But voicing one's opposition to war alone is not enough. We must do something to bring about an end to war and conflict, and one of the things that we have to seriously think about is the question of disarmament. I know that the motivating factor which triggers the need for weapons is human emotion—hatred and anger. But there is no way that we can completely eliminate anger and hatred from the minds of human beings. We can definitely reduce their force and alleviate them, but not completely eliminate them. That means that we have to make serious efforts to achieve disarmament.

Another challenge that we face is the question of population. I know that from the point of view of all religious traditions, life, human life in particular, is precious. However, if we look at this issue from a global perspective, then I think there is definitely a need for all religious traditions to give the population issue very serious thought, because the world's resources are limited.

I think the most important task of any religious practitioner is to examine oneself within one's own mind and try to transform one's body, speech and mind, and act according to the teachings and principles of the religious tradition that one is following. This is very important. Conversely, if one's faith or practise of religion remains only at the intellectual level of knowledge, such as being familiar with certain doctrines without translating them into one's behaviour or conduct, then I think that is a grave mistake.

Hope for the Future

Throughout history, mankind has pursued peace one way or another. Is it too optimistic to imagine that world peace may finally be within our grasp? I do not believe that there has been an increase in the amount of people's hatred, only in their ability to manifest it in vastly destructive weapons. On

the other hand, bearing witness to the tragic evidence of the mass slaughter caused by such weapons in our century has given us the opportunity to control war. To do so, it is clear we must disarm. Naturally global peace cannot occur all at once. Since conditions around the world are so varied, its spread will have to be incremental. But there is no reason why it cannot begin in one region and then spread gradually from one continent to another.

Our scientists are extremely bright. Why should their brilliance be wasted on such dreadful endeavours when it could be used for positive global development? The great deserts of the world such as the Sahara and the Gobi could be cultivated to increase food production and ease overcrowding. Many countries now face years of severe drought. New, less expensive methods of desalinization could be developed to render sea water suitable for human consumption and other uses. Our planet is blessed with vast natural treasures. If we use them properly, beginning with the elimination of militarism and war, truly, every human being will be able to live a wealthy, well-cared-for life.

I would like to conclude by stating that, in general, I feel optimistic about the future. Some recent trends portend our great potential for a better world. I think we can say that, because of the lessons we have begun to learn, the next century will be friendlier, more harmonious, and less harmful. Compassion, the seed of peace, will be able to flourish. I am very hopeful. At the same time, I believe that every individual has a responsibility to help guide our global family in the right direction. Good wishes alone are not enough; we have to assume responsibility. I am sure that many honest, sincere people all over the world already hold the views that I have mentioned here. I for one truly believe that individuals can make a difference in society. Since periods of great change such as the present one come so rarely in human history, it is up to each of us to make the best use of our time to help create a happier world. □

The Human Spirit in the Third Millennium

DR HUSTON SMITH

*Dr Huston Smith was professor of philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA, and is now universally acclaimed as an authority on world religions. His *The World's Religions* is perhaps the best book available on this subject today. Apart from numerous commitments, Dr Smith is on the advisory board of AHIMSA, an acronym for Agency for Human Interconnectedness through Manifestation of Spiritual Awareness.*

I would like to subtitle my write-up, 'Light at the End of the Tunnel.' What I do not know is whether to put a question mark at the end of that subtitle, to ask if light is emerging at the end of the tunnel. Or should I put a period at the end of the subtitle and declare that it is? I leave the option to readers. My wife reminds me of Woody Allen's quip, 'Sure there's light at the end of the tunnel. It is Jersey.' But the question is whether we have a better light coming over the horizon.

Alfred North Whitehead, one of the leading philosophers of our century, said that the two most important forces in human history are science and religion, and added the provocative statement that more than any other single factor, the future of humanity depends on how these two great forces settle into relationship with one another. For 400 years, the relationship has been tense. First, the Church had the power and did not use it well. It attempted to strangle some of the nascent sciences in their cradle. Now the power is on the other side, that of science. Science today has become a part of our culture. Our culture believes in and wants ever more favours from science, and our faith is firmly placed in it. This situation creates an imbalance in the other direction.

To illustrate the current imbalance between science and religion, let me use a personal example. Over this past summer, Freeman Dyson, one of the leading cosmologists of our day, wrote in the *New York Review of*

Books about John Polkinghorne's theology. Polkinghorne is also a world-class scientist, having contributed to the development of quantum mechanics, but at the age of 50 he entered a second career as an Anglican clergyman who writes about theology. Dyson, referring to Polkinghorne's work, wrote that science is about fact and theology about words. What does that mean? I wrote a letter to the *New York Review of Books*, which they published, and let me quote from that letter:

It is symptomatic of the unlevel playing field on which science and religion contend today, that a scientist with no theological credentials, Freeman Dyson, feels comfortable in concluding that the theology of a fellow scientist, John Polkinghorne is, like all theology, about words and not, as is the case with science, about things.

I wonder if the *New York Review of Books* would have given the slightest attention to a theologian making a statement like that on science; if a theologian had written that science was like maya or illusion or something like that. Obviously such a statement would have gone straight into the wastebasket. It is a small thing, but it is telling in regard to the current imbalance between religion and science. Although it is self-serving, let me quote the opening sentence of Freeman Dyson's response to my letter:

I'm grateful to Huston Smith for correcting my mistake. I have, as he says, no

theological credentials. I have learned a lot from his letter.

Well, he may have no theological credentials, but he is certainly a gentleman. That was a most gracious response.

Now let me come back to my image of a tunnel. Let me give you some examples to illustrate what I see as the four sides of that tunnel, a tunnel through which I believe the human spirit has been moving for nearly the last four centuries. Let me begin with the floor of the tunnel, which I will call *scientism*. Science, to my thinking, is best seen as the objective findings of the scientific method, and if I said the slightest thing against science I would be the world's greatest ingrate.

Six years ago I was diagnosed with prostate cancer, and my urologist and proctologist went to do a very scientific and precise job of saving me. And now, six years later I am alive and, as you will discover if you have not already, still kicking. Had it not been for science, I would have died four years ago after two very unpleasant final years. So I am fully supportive of *science*. On the other hand, I do not support *scientism*, by which I mean a belief system which adds to objective facts of science two riders which are not at all supported by facts, but which are simply opinion. These two riders are, first, that the things with which science primarily deals, namely the material, observable elements of the universe, are the fundamental elements which gave rise to everything else, spirit included; the second rider holds that the scientific method is, if not the only reliable window on truth, at least the most reliable one. These two ideas are opinions, and people are welcome to hold them, but as a culture we make the mistake of failing to distinguish between *science*, that is, the objective findings of the scientific method, and the opinions which are added to science in order to create *scientism*. As a result scientism manages to pull onto itself the faith which is more properly placed in science as an objective and largely successful method.

My one example of scientism comes

from the best book on scientism I know of, by Brian Appleyard, who begins with a fictional account to make his point. He asks us to imagine a missionary in Africa. Conversion is slow until a young woman comes down with an infectious disease. The tribal doctors can do nothing and the young woman is dying. At this point the missionary remembers that she has a little penicillin in her bag. She administers this to the dying woman, who miraculously recovers. Appleyard points out that, with this single act, it is all over for the traditional culture. Elijah has met the prophets of Baal, and Elijah, representing in this case science, has won. Appleyard now comments that if those people had only reasoned differently, if they had said to themselves, 'This woman obviously knows things about our bodies that we do not and we should be grateful to her and listen; but her medicine does not change who we are or where we came from or where we are going, and certainly not why we are here. There is certainly no reason why we cannot accept her knowledge about our bodies and still hold on to the myths and lore which give power and meaning to our culture.' Appleyard now states that the problem here is that these people *do not have* the ability to reason this way, and that, just as importantly, neither do we. It is our inability to reason in a synthetic and relativistic way that constitutes our scientism. For us, it is an unarguable and all-encompassing faith which we do not wish to adulterate with any superstition.

Now let me say about the side of the tunnel which represents *higher education*. Here the key book is by the able historian at Notre Dame University, George Marsden, who has written a splendid study called *The Soul of the American University*. In this book he asserts, with extensive documentation, that in five generations the ethos of the university has moved from Protestant Establishmentism—all the universities here were established to train Protestant ministers—to today's Established Disbelief. With the excep-

tion of science, which is, apart from some fringe movements, regarded at our universities as established knowledge and believed in almost without question, the attitude toward any other form of belief is radically sceptical. Robert Bellah, who retired last spring from the University of California, says that the greatest indictment of the American university is that it erodes not just religious belief, but all belief, and that the chief entrées into that erosion are the hermeneutics of suspicion on the one hand, and postmodernism, which equates truth with a power play, on the other.

I had lunch some months back with someone who described himself as 'convictionally impaired,' a very telling phrase which, I think, describes well the atmosphere of the modern American university. I also think of Coomaraswamy's remark—he was a great art historian who founded the Oriental wing of the Boston Museum of Art—that it takes four years to get a college education and 40 to get over it.

And now to the roof of our tunnel, which I will allow to represent *secularism*. This is no surprise, given that it is universities which train most of our leaders and send them out to dominant positions in our culture, which in turn becomes secular and agnostic. Peter Berger, a sociologist at Boston University, puts this graphically by saying that if India is the most religious nation and Sweden the least religious, America is a land of Indians ruled by Swedes. It is a quip, but a very telling one. To illustrate secularism, let me note the public understanding of what happened in the Scopes Trial, the so-called Monkey Trial. This trial took place in the 1920s, after the Butler Act prohibited the teaching of evolution in schools. The ACLU then mounted a test case in Dayton, Tennessee, in which they defended a biology teacher who was charged with violating that Act. The teacher was tried and convicted. The event was made into a hit play and later a film, both entitled *Inherit the Wind*. The play was actually revised and remounted four or five years ago. As I recall, the

play was very powerful, and it was only later that I appreciated the extent to which the media had shaped the events to suit the secularist outlook of the times. In brief, the whole course of events in Dayton, Tennessee, was actually orchestrated by the local Chamber of Commerce, who approached the biology teacher and asked him to challenge the Act, seeing the commercial possibilities for Dayton in the trial. And indeed, some 200 reporters descended on Dayton, as did a great many tourists, and the Chamber made Dayton a lot of money. The real story was, however, somewhat different. Scopes was not a biologist. The biology teacher had died mid-semester and somebody was needed to keep order in the class, so Scopes, the football coach, took over. During the trial, he declared that his students taught him more biology than he taught them. Unlike the plot of the play and movie, Scopes was never jailed, and Bryan, again unlike his character in the play, was not a fundamentalist at all, being concerned only with social Darwinism. He was a great humanitarian and, in spite of being the attorney for the state, recommended acquittal for Scopes. The judge refused, instead levying a token fine of \$100. Bryan pulled out his wallet on the spot and paid it himself. Virtually everything in the play was treated in this way, casting Scopes' accusers and Bryan himself as Bible-thumping reactionaries and Scopes' defenders as enlightened, sensitive, reasonable progressives. The media retold the story in polarized, secularist terms.

The remaining side of our tunnel is *the law*. Our founders and their Congress, having left Europe for freedom of religion, were greatly concerned with keeping government out of the practice of religion. Thus, the First Amendment declares that Congress shall pass no law regulating religious practice; they wanted to leave that matter totally in the hands of the states. Yet within the last 200 hundred years, government has continuously arrogated to itself more and more control over religious matters. Very recently, Gover-

nor Wilson of USA vetoed a movement by a coalition of religious leaders to restore the formerly high standard necessary for government interference in religious matters, a standard which has been steadily decreasing. To give a personal example, I spent two years putting together *One Nation Under God: The Triumph of the Native American Church*. In 1990, the federal government stripped that church of its constitutional right to religious practice because of its use of peyote, a harmless cactus to which it is impossible to become addicted and to which not a single misdemeanour or crime has ever been traced. Compare that to the record of alcohol, the sacrament of the dominant religions in our culture and a legal drug, and you see the unfairness of this.

I shall have to end my presentation. It is like the old sermons, 25 minutes on sin and 5 minutes on salvation. What about the light at the end of the tunnel? In a lecture a few days ago I said that I have never been so optimistic as I have become in the last few years, not about our society and its socio-political-marketing-economic future, with the rich getting richer, but about the relationship between science and religion. There I feel optimistic, for two reasons. One is exemplified by the company of world-class physicists such as Geoffrey Chew and Henry Stapp. The latter stated, 'Everything we now know is in accord with the idea that the fundamental process of nature is outside space and time.' Now do not

take me to mean that scientists are saying God exists. They are simply saying that there is this X which calls the tune, but they cannot tell us anything about the qualities of that X. Still, what an opening of the door for conversations, on a more level playing field, between science and religion. I am sure readers would agree that Brahman lies outside space and time.

My other reason for optimism comes from the science of biology, by which I mean macrobiology, a younger and less secure science than microbiology, with much work to do. Last summer I gave a week's worth of lectures in Chataqua, New York, and one of these was on evolution. In the course of preparing for the lectures, I wrote an open letter to the National Association of Biological Professors, asking them if they would consider dropping two words from their definition of evolution, which currently states that evolution is an 'unsupervised, impersonal' process. I argued that there is no factual evidence to support those two words. Their board took the matter up at their annual week-long meeting, and on the first day spent ten minutes discussing my proposal. They rejected it unanimously, but the issue did not go away. By the fourth and last meeting, at the end of their agenda, they reconsidered my proposal for 45 more minutes and unanimously voted to strike those two words from their definition of evolution. In short, they are teachable. □

Vivekananda's Vision of Religion

Religious ideas will have to become universal, vast, and infinite; and then alone we shall have the fullest play of religion, for the power of religion has only just begun to manifest in the world. It is sometimes said that religions are dying out, that spiritual ideas are dying out of the world. To me it seems that they have just begun to grow. The power of religion, broadened and purified, is going to penetrate every part of human life. ... What is needed is a fellow-feeling between the different types of religion, seeing that they all stand or fall together, a fellow-feeling which springs from mutual esteem and mutual respect....

—Swami Vivekananda

Education and Culture: A Paradigm Shift

DR KARAN SINGH

How should our educational system be in future? An eminent thinker, Dr Karan Singh presents his brilliant thoughts on this subject. Having been at the helm of Indian educational affairs for some time, Dr Singh's ideas are in perfect harmony with both tradition as well as modernity. A celebrated academician, Dr Singh studied Aurobindo's political philosophy for his doctorate, and has several books to his credit. His well-known works include the autobiographical writings Heir Apparent and Sadar-i-Riyasat; One Man's World is about the thinker's world tour and his ideas on India, religion, etc.

Living in an interconnected and interdependent world that is undergoing challenges and changes in our fundamental assumptions about the nature of reality and our relation to the earth process, the time has come when creative minds throughout the planet must mobilize their inner and outer resources for providing a new vision of reality and a dynamic, holistic philosophy of culture, education and development. The international scenario does not offer any optimistic picture of balanced development, as the gap between the wealthy and poor nations is widening, and even within nations the disparities between the rich and the poor are increasing in terms of access to goods and services, to knowledge and culture. The transitional phase is unfolding new possibilities and new promises, but these are still far from actualization. With the collapse of communism, the polarized, rigid ideologies and blocs have disappeared and a fresh breeze of democracy and freedom is blowing across the planet, but there is also a new wall rising between North and South, developed and developing nations.

The emerging parameters of development are no longer based on the concept of automatic progress. The new theory of development does not restrict itself merely to economic growth, but embraces within its fold the quality of life and cultural development.

The human factor in the new concept of development begins in human culture, and it must lead to cultural fulfilment. At the Earth Summit in Rio in 1998, the link between economic growth and sustainable development was sharply and coherently spelt out, and it was also recognized that the key to the preservation of the environment lies in culture, and that this linkage must be given due significance in the new development strategy. It is culture in its broadest sense that is the ultimate source and goal of development, and provides it a new content, quality and direction, and this, in turn, must be reflected in the educational process.

Education, hitherto mainly concerned with the transmission of cultural patterns from one generation to another, has undergone a dramatic transformation in the age of science and technology. It has assumed several new functions, such as extension of the frontiers of knowledge through basic and applied research, and activity to meet the pressures and demands of the industrial and consumer society. Three centuries ago there was a major shift in education from pre-modern holism to separateness, and consequently we witnessed the multiplication of disciplines and compartmentalization of knowledge. There are separate classes for everything, and the generally accepted attitude is that each body of knowledge is a distinct and separate

subject composed of objective and undeniable facts. In the historical perspective, the present worldview and value-system were evolved and matured during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they became the basis of the paradigm that has dominated Western culture for the past three hundred years. The world machine became the dominant metaphor of that era, and the mechanical model of the world represented a powerful intellectual achievement, producing astounding achievements in science and technology. This was based on the Cartesian-Newtonian, Marxian paradigm of dualistic reality, whereby the world was looked upon as a sort of giant mechanical machine governed by strictly rigid laws of nature. In this framework, consciousness was considered to be simply an epiphenomenon, an accidental or perhaps incidental function of matter in evolution.

There is literally no aspect of our life or activity that has not been profoundly modified by the technological revolution, and in the past few decades there has been an exponential leap in this process. In fact it touches every facet of our life-system, our health and livelihood, the quality of our environment, social relationships, the economy, technology, policies and education. There has, of course, also been the negative influence of this great force which has adversely affected the quality of life and environment and denied to each human being the spiritual dimension. In its most hideous manifestations, this view led to the unspeakable horrors of Stalin's slave camps and Hitler's gas chambers. We are, therefore, caught in a double-bind. On the one hand consumerism grows apace in the affluent countries with the developing world desperately trying to catch up, while on the other the natural resources of our planet are getting rapidly depleted with the exponential rate of population growth which has crossed the six billion mark at the end of the last century.

It is a crisis of unprecedented dimen-

sions in recorded history, and we have reached a point where we have begun to experience the threat of extinction of the human race and of life-system on this planet. The global ecosystem and further evolution of life on earth are endangered and this may well end in massive ecological disaster. Overpopulation and industrial technology have contributed in various ways to severe degradation of the natural environment upon which we are completely dependent. Indeed, the air we breathe, the food we eat and the water we drink are all polluted. The ozone layer in our outer atmosphere, which shelters us from deadly rays, is showing signs of depletion. Vast areas of the earth have been ravaged and laid waste, rivers, lakes—and even the oceans, the very cradle of life—have been polluted. Thousands of species of flora and fauna have become extinct, and countless others follow them every year into oblivion. Our present educational system is producing a quality of life that suffers from depression and psychiatric disorders flowing from the deterioration in our social environment. There has been an increasing rise in violent crimes, terrorism, accidents, suicides, sexually transmitted diseases, alcoholism and drug abuse. Whether we talk about cancer or crime figures, inflation or unemployment, traffic jams or energy shortages, the dynamic underlying these problems is the same. There are systemic problems, which means that they are closely interconnected and interdependent, and are partly the outcome of our specialized system of education which is bereft of cultural and spiritual values.

These problems cannot be tackled by a fragmented and fractured educational methodology and rigid curricula. To understand our multifaced crisis we need to adopt a holistic and ecological approach in the context of human cultural evolution. The question that we have to address today is how to transform the present crisis into a new possibility by evolving a radically different approach to education and culture in the twenty-first cen-

tury. Instead of clinging to fixed ideas and rigid patterns, what is needed is the recognition of some of the ideas of various religious and cultural traditions for a decisive breakthrough, a quantum jump into a new cultural dimension. We must learn the fourfold art of nurturing the body, the mind, the emotions and the spirit so that the individual can move towards harmonious development. In a world hurtling into the new millennium, we are now called upon to make a major shift from disintegration to integration, from compulsive consumerism to sustainable development, from regionalism to globalism, from the exploitative image of man and nature to the cooperative and ecological image. The main instrument for this process will inevitably be the educational system, which alone can facilitate the task of actualizing the total potentialities of human beings. This creative reorientation of our educational systems, both their outer structure and inner spirit, represents one of the most exciting challenges of our times.

In this process the cultural dimension is tremendously important. The philosopher Whitehead correctly analysed this when he wrote, 'Culture is activity of thought, and receptiveness to beauty and humane feeling. Scraps of information have nothing to do with it. A merely well-informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth. What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from, and their culture will lead them as deep as philosophy and as high as art.' And the great evolutionary philosopher Sri Aurobindo, one of the most creative minds of the modern age, writes: 'The individual is indeed the key to the evolutionary movement; for it is the individual who finds himself, who becomes conscious of the Reality. The individual does not owe his ultimate allegiance either to the state, which is a machine, or to the community, which is a part of life and not the whole life. His allegiance must

be to the Truth, the self, the spirit, the Divine which is in him and all. Not to subordinate or lose himself in the mass, but to find and express the truth of being in himself and help the community and humanity in its seeking for its own truth and fullness of being must be his real object of existence.'

To meet this great challenge we must shake off our diffidence and plunge bodily into the future, our feet firmly based in our cultural heritage and our minds reaching out to the infinite possibilities that lie ahead. The focus of education must shift from material consciousness to spiritual consciousness, from utilitarian to humanistic, from exclusively intellectual to intuitive and creative consciousness, from a dehumanized and acquisitive worldview to the humanistic and sharing *weltanschauung*. It must recognize that at every level we are interconnected and interdependent, and that on the cosmic scale we are but one little link in a great chain of being. Cultural activity should be at once a celebration of diversity and a reiteration of unity.

All over the world there is a growing number of individuals and organizations who are committed to the expansion of human consciousness, spiritual transformation and a new evolution based on cooperation, collaboration, reciprocal altruism and personal and social responsibility. In fact, only a comprehensive and holistic system of education can bring about a change in our consciousness and expand our personal and universal awareness. The vision of education that we propose and articulate must embrace the further expansion of human consciousness, and the time for this change is now. The UNESCO Commission on Education for the 21st century must, therefore, evolve an educational system that:

- (a) respects the unique individuality and dignity of each human being regardless of race or religion, sex or nationality;
- (b) ensures the necessary intellectual and cultural inputs—through study,

dance, drama, music, fine arts—for the full flowering of the human personality;

(c) encourages cultural and linguistic diversity while stressing the unique nature of humanness that knits humanity into a single, extended family;

(d) accepts the prime importance of achieving universal literacy on the planet at the latest by the year 2010;

(e) utilizes the latest communications technology—specially satellite television—to develop a new kind of creative distance education which would cover hitherto inaccessible areas and populations, while at the same time enriching the academic inputs for those who already have access to educational institutions;

(f) trains men and women with the skills necessary to play a positive and creative role in the emerging global society;

(g) honours the spiritual spark in each human being and encourages its growth

into the bright light of spiritual illumination through prayer, meditation, contemplation and dedicated service offered up to the Divine;

(h) acknowledges that the basic element relating human beings to themselves, their society and their environment is consciousness, and seeks to chisel and refine human consciousness so that humanity can rise individually and collectively to the next stage in their evolutionary destiny; and

(i) knits all this together to articulate a philosophy of life which stresses the social values of love, compassion, non-violence, cleanliness, helpfulness, respect of elders, involvement in community development, environment and demographic values, interfaith harmony and other such components of human culture that conduce to the well-being of all the inhabitants of Planet Earth. □

Vivekananda's Vision of Education

What we want are Western science coupled with Vedanta, Brahmacharya as the guiding motto, and also Shraddhā and faith in one's own self. You see, no one can teach anybody. The teacher spoils everything by thinking that he is teaching. Thus Vedanta says that within man is all knowledge—even in a boy it is so—and it requires only an awakening, and that much is the work of a teacher. Goodness gracious! What a fuss and fury about graduating, and after a few days all cools down! Does higher education mean mere study of material sciences and turning out things of everyday use by machinery? The use of higher education is to find out how to solve the problems of life, and this is what is engaging the profound thought of the modern civilised world, but it was solved in our country thousands of years ago.

The less you read, the better. Read the Gita and other good works on Vedanta. That is all you need. The present system of education is all wrong. The mind is crammed with facts before it knows how to think. Control of the mind should be taught first. If I had my education to get over again and had any voice in the matter, I would learn to master my mind first, and then gather facts if I wanted them. It takes people a long time to learn things because they cannot concentrate their minds at will.

—Swami Vivekananda

SCIENCE: ASTRONOMY

Astronomy in the Millennium

DR JAYANT V. NARLIKAR

One of the world's leading astrophysicists today, Dr Jayant Narlikar's splendid contributions have been hailed as milestones in astronomical research. We thank the author for sending us this brilliant article on all aspects of astronomy. His recent book, Seven Wonders of the Cosmos (Cambridge University Press), is considered to be an important addition to cosmological literature.

Introduction

It is hard to summarize even the highlights of such a dynamical subject as astronomy, which can claim to be the oldest of all sciences. Here is an attempt to select a few instances which are regarded as landmarks (or spacemarks?) in the evolution of the human perception of the universe.

Perhaps I should begin with India! For nearly a thousand years ago astronomy flourished in India, whereas it was dormant in Europe where the Greek contributions of an earlier millennium had become fossilized. The Arabs were playing a major role in conveying and recording astronomical findings from India and the Orient in general. The golden age of Indian astronomy, which had begun in the fifth century AD with Aryabhata was coming to a close in the twelfth century with Bhaskara II. However, the *Siddhantashirmani* of Bhaskara (1150), with its contributions to astronomy and mathematics has survived to tell us of the advances in these fields in those times. Certainly trigonometry and algebra were used in India in astronomical observations of stars and planets and calculations of events like eclipses, occultations, etc.

Unfortunately, the momentum in India died down in the following centuries and it picked up in Europe with the advent of Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler in the 15th-17th centuries. We will take up the story there.

Advent of the Heliocentric Theory

From sometime in the first half of the

sixteenth century to sometime in the second half of the seventeenth, a major revolution took place in man's perception of his position in the universe. This period may seem too long in modern terms but seen in terms of the slow-motion progress of science in earlier times, it was very important and far-reaching.

In the golden era of Greek astronomy, Hipparchus (190-120 BC) and Ptolemy (85-165 AD) had perfected the geocentric theory which described the stellar and the planetary system as revolving around the fixed Earth. The stars were relatively easy to describe in this framework, but the planets with their apparently irregular motions were more difficult to fit in.

Guided by Aristotle's penchant for circles as paths for natural motions, the Greeks wanted to describe a typical planetary path as a circle whose centre moved on another circle,



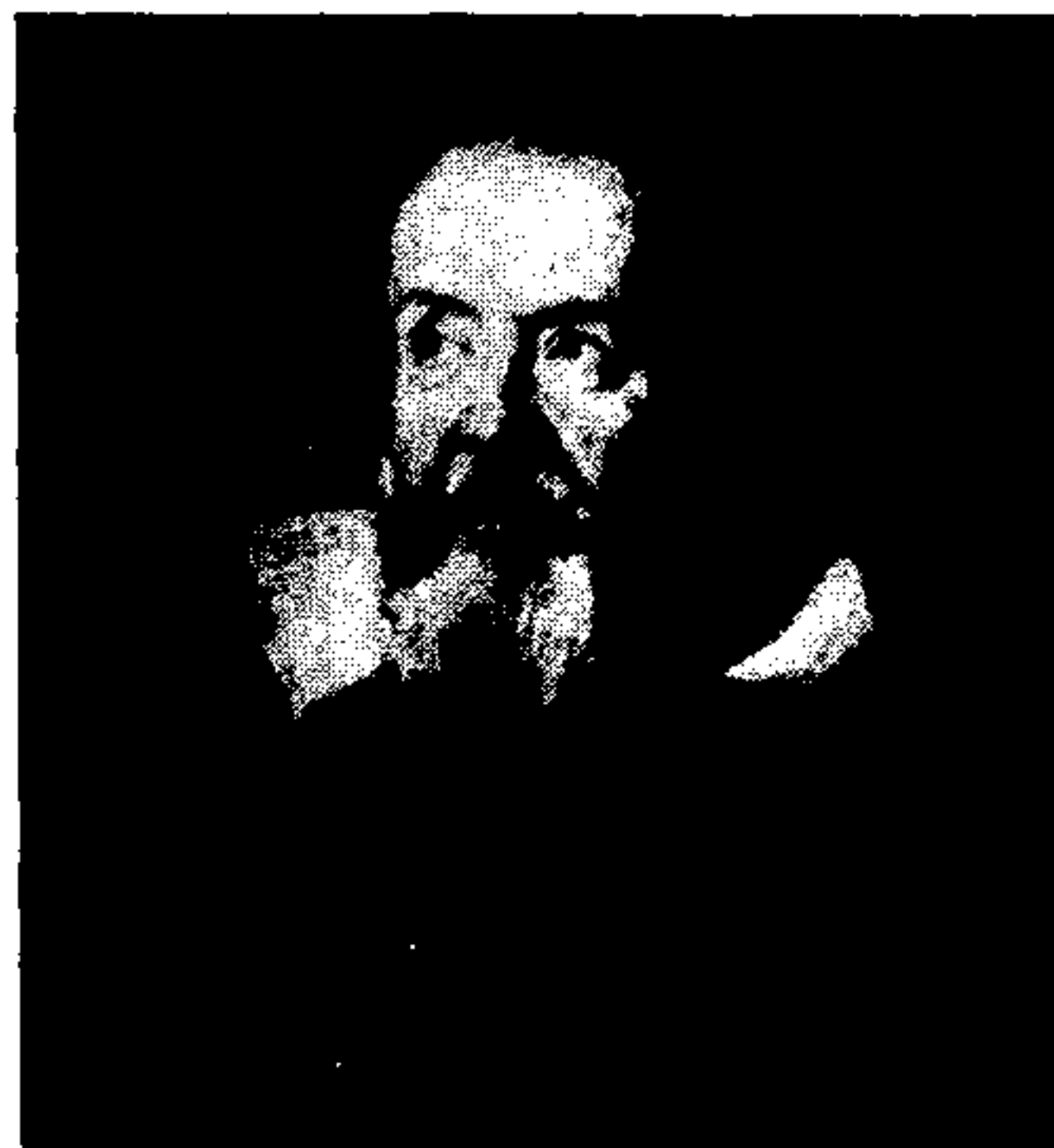
Aristotle

whose centre moved on a third circle and so on, with the final circle in the series going around the fixed Earth. These circles came to be shown as *epicycles*, and Ptolemy's book *Syntaxis* which became better known through its Arab translation as *Almagest* was regarded as the last word on the subject for fifteen centuries.

It was against this well-entrenched belief in the fixed Earth theory which had become a religious dogma in Europe that we must view the Copernican revolution. First in a monograph called *Commentariolus* and later in the detailed volume *De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium* which he saw completed in 1543 when he was on his deathbed, Nicolas Copernicus proposed the heliocentric theory.

Copernicus showed that the motions of the planets are considerably simplified if one shifts the centre point from the Earth to the Sun, with the former also moving around the latter. He too had to use epicycles to describe planetary paths, however. It was Johannes Kepler in the early seventeenth century who first obtained the correct picture of planetary paths. He showed that they moved in elliptical orbits with the Sun as one of the two foci. Thanks to the work of Kepler and his contemporary Galileo Gallilei who launched a major campaign not only against the geocentric theory but also against the entire Aristotelian natural philosophy, the Copernican revolution reached a successful completion.

However, the bulk of the controversy surrounding the heliocentric theory arose be-



Galileo

cause it was trying to replace what had become a religious tenet, namely, that the Earth is firmly fixed in the universe.

Does the Earth Move?

'Eppur si muove' ('Yes, it does move') said Galileo in 1633 even after recanting and supporting the geocentric theory. Is the Earth fixed and the Sun goes round it or vice versa? The debate had been a long-standing one. The relativist today may say: does it matter? Are not the laws of physics the same whichever frame of reference you find convenient to use? Indeed, in a purely two-body system the question of what goes round what is undecidable.

But astronomers have more than two bodies to deal with. Apart from the planets in our neighbourhood, there is the background of stars. With respect to that background the question of what goes round what does become meaningful. And it is in principle decidable. Aristarchus of Samos in Greece, back in the third century BC was the main proponent of the heliocentric theory. His idea was put to a test: at six-month intervals the stars should appear to change their direction because of the change of the observer's vantage point as the Earth moves through space.

The idea was right but Aristarchus lost the debate for two reasons. First, he and his contemporaries had grossly underestimated the stellar distances and had expected appreciable angular changes of star directions,



Copernicus

which were not found. Second, the astronomical techniques of his times were not accurate enough to measure the changes of the order of 0.1 arc second that were in fact there.

Even Galileo, despite his confidence in the heliocentric theory, did not have the correct test to claim. His notion that the Earth's motion causes tides of oceans was wrong. The real tests of the hypothesis came in the 18th and 19th centuries. The parallax test proposed by Aristarchus was first used by Bessel for a reliable result in 1838 for the star 61 Cygni, whose parallax is about 0.3 arc second. An earlier test of the Earth's motion came in 1725 from aberration measurements by Bradley who measured the change in the direction of light coming from a star as perceived from the moving platform of the Earth.

The 'How' and 'Why' of Planetary Motion

The true motions of planets around the Sun began to be understood, thanks to the pioneering work of Johannes Kepler.

Kepler started as an assistant to the famous astronomer Tycho Brahe from Uraniborg, Denmark. Tycho did not believe in the Copernican heliocentric theory and had collected a lot of observational data on planetary positions from his well-equipped observatory in the hope of disproving the theory and proving his own version of the geocentric theory. However, he died in 1601 without realizing his dream. On his deathbed he enjoined Kepler to complete the mission with



Kepler



Newton

the help of data already collected.

With painstaking efforts lasting nearly two decades, Kepler completed his work only to find that the data corroborated the heliocentric view, but in a way not imagined even by Copernicus. For, till Kepler announced his results, circular trajectories and epicycles had played the key role in describing the planetary orbits. Kepler found that the typical planetary orbit is an ellipse with the Sun as one of its two foci. Kepler not only determined the shape of the orbit but also described the mathematical pattern of how planets move along their respective orbits with the Sun as the common focal point. The next step to understand was *why* the planets moved in that fashion.

In the end, it was left to Isaac Newton in England to complete the picture. Taking off from Galileo's ideas on motion and inertia, Newton formulated his laws of motion. Given Kepler's laws as empirical facts, Newton was able to explain them within his dynamical framework and in this process made his great discovery of the law of universal gravitation.

For, Newton's laws of motion related the acceleration of a body to the force acting on it. From Kepler's laws, it was possible for Newton to find the planetary acceleration and hence the force acting on the planet. This is how he arrived at the inverse square law of gravitation.

With his characteristic genius, Newton used his newly discovered methods of calculus to work out the inverse problem, viz, what is the orbit if the force is given as per the inverse square law? The answer came out to be the orbits found by Kepler.

The publication of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy) in 1687 by Newton represents the culmination of human efforts over recorded history to understand how and why the planets move across the sky.

The Universality of the Law of Gravitation

Folklore has it that the fall of an apple in his orchard at his residence, the Woolsthorpe Manor, inspired Isaac Newton to think of the law of gravitation. However, the real quantitative evidence for the inverse square law came from the data on the motions of the Moon and the planets. But the question still remained as to how wide in its applicability is the law of gravitation. Here too astronomy, rather than terrestrial laboratory experiments, provided further inputs.

Even during Newton's lifetime, his friend and scientific colleague Edmund Halley made the important prediction that the comets that had previously visited the Earth's neighbourhood in the years 1456, 1531, 1607 and 1682 were one and the same comet that was following a periodic and highly eccentric orbit under the Sun's gravitational field and that it would next visit in the year 1758. Halley calculated the comet's orbit using Newton's laws of motion and gravitation. The comet did visit exactly as predicted, although Halley was not alive to witness this triumph. The comet itself has since been named after Halley.

There were other post-Newtonian triumphs of the law of gravitation. The discovery in 1845 of planet Neptune came out of the application of the law of gravitation to understand the small but unmistakable discrepancy in the orbit of planet Uranus: Uranus was not moving exactly along its Keplerian orbit.

Adams in England and Leverrier in France independently deduced the existence of a new planet from its possible effect on the orbit of Uranus. Galle of the Berlin Observatory was able to confirm the location of the planet as predicted.

However, the validity of the law of gravitation beyond the narrow confines of our solar system began to be evident in the nineteenth century with the observations of binary stars. In 1803, Sir William Herschel first recognized visual binaries and their orbital motions which appeared to follow Keplerian laws. Unlike the rather unequal combination of a massive Sun and a very low mass planet, the binary stars were of comparable masses but one could still study them as examples of Newtonian two-body gravitating systems.

Today the astronomer applies the phenomenon of gravitation to even larger systems like galaxies, quasars, clusters and superclusters of galaxies and even to the entire universe. But we will come to those applications later.

Stellar Studies in Bulk

The nineteenth century saw astronomers take on studies of stars in bulk. Of particular interest were the clusters of stars and the nebulae. With his large telescopes including the 48-inch reflector, William Herschel made pioneering discoveries which led to the first attempt at finding the structure of our Galaxy.

The key feature of this structure which is visible to the naked eye on a clear night is of course the Milky Way, a white band stretching across the sky. By counting stars in different directions, Herschel demonstrated that they are concentrated in the plane of the Milky Way. If we imagine ourselves as located in this plane, then looking out we would see the stars in the 'disc' projected as a band. Today, we call this disc of stars 'the Galaxy'.

Herschel found the stars to be distributed mainly in the plane of the Milky Way;



Cosmos

the nebulae, which were diffuse patches of light, however, seemed to avoid that plane. Unlike the stars, the nebulae have a diffused cloud-like appearance and Herschel thought them to be components of the Milky Way system. Some indeed seemed to have a central star.

Back in the eighteenth century, the mathematician J.H. Lambert had suggested that by and large the nebulae were large clusters of stars—they were galaxies like our Milky Way Galaxy, but because they happened to be very far away they looked small and one could not make out their starry character. However, Herschel thought otherwise: because these nebulae avoided the plane of our Galaxy he felt that their distribution was somehow related to the structure of the Galaxy. Herschel's studies also led him to believe that our Sun and the Solar System were located very close to the centre of the Galaxy.

Eventually, these conclusions of Herschel proved to be wrong. The crucial aspect of the cosmos that he had not been aware of was the presence of dust. Like stars, clouds of dust particles are also concentrated in the disc of the Milky Way, thus obscuring the view of all distant objects lying in that plane. Which

is why no nebulae are seen in the galactic plane. It was the dust obscuration that also misled Herschel about the true extent of our Galaxy and our location in it. But the real picture emerged only in the present century.

The Discovery of Helium and Astronomical Spectroscopy

In the Total Solar Eclipse (TSE) of 1868, astronomical observations achieved a 'first', namely, the first time that the astronomical setting led to a discovery which was replicated in a terrestrial laboratory years later. This happened in the TSE observations by the French astronomer Pierre Jules Cesar Janssen (1824-1907) at Guntur, now in Andhra Pradesh, India. The source of a yellow line in the flash spectrum was identified as a new element which, because of its presence on the Sun (Helios in Greek), was named Helium. The genesis of the name is due to the co-discoverer of the new element, Joseph Norman Lockyer (1836-1920). The same element was discovered anew on the Earth in 1895 by Ramsay in a classical investigation as a constituent of the Earth's atmosphere. Today, cosmologists recognize it as the next abundant element in the universe after hydrogen. There is a postscript to the eclipse episode. During his post-eclipse stay in Simla, Janssen made the first spectrohelioscope, which was used for the daily examination of the Sun. It was the transit of Venus on 9 December 1896 that led to the institutionalization of astrophysics in India. European solar physicists realized the advantage of India's sunny weather for their research and took the initiative. The Government of India was persuaded that support for the study of the Sun would help prediction of the errant monsoons, so essential to India's agriculture!

The discovery of helium was a major step in a quiet but significant revolution that was taking place in astronomy in the nineteenth century, a revolution that was to lead to major advances in physics in the early years of the next century. This astronomical revolution was in spectroscopy and some im-

portant developments in it were as follows:

1814-15 von Fraunhofer measured the relative positions of dark lines in the solar spectrum.

1822 John Herschel discovered the bright spectra of volatilized metallic salts and suggested in the following year that such lines might be used to detect these elements.

1849 J. Foucault pointed out the exact correspondence between the bright and dark lines.

1849 George Stokes showed that atoms which emit bright emission lines when hot, absorb lines of the same wavelength when in cold vapour form. Thus, he explained that the dark Fraunhofer lines represent absorption by metallic vapours.

1860 The first spectroscopic examination of stars began.

1867 Angelo Secchi classified stars in four classes according to their spectra.

1890 Around this time E. Pickering introduced the Harvard classes O,B,A,F,G,K,M,R,N,...that are now commonly used.

The Galactic Centre

Late in the eighteenth century, William Herschel had begun measurements of stellar distances, starting with the assumption that stars are basically similar to the Sun. Thus, the fainter the star the farther it would have to be. By counting stars to fainter and fainter magnitudes, Herschel was able to get a qualitative picture of their distribution in what became known as the Galaxy.

In Herschel's picture, the Sun was placed at the centre of the Milky Way. This belief survived throughout the nineteenth century, and when towards its end J.C. Kapteyn planned a large scale programme of spectroscopy and photometry of stars in the Milky Way so as to determine its structure, he was guided by the same belief. The outcome of this work led to the *Kapteyn Universe* in 1922, in which the entire system was believed to be 10,000 light years in diameter and centred on

the Sun.

By 1918, however, thanks to the work of Harlow Shapely, picture of a different and larger system was emerging with the Sun well away from the centre. With the help of measurements of angular sizes of globular clusters (these are spherical distributions of stars) Shapely found that the true centre of the Galaxy lies in the direction of Sagittarius. His estimate of the diameter of the Galaxy at 300,000 light years, however, turned out to be too large by a factor of three. This was because he had not taken into account the attenuation of starlight by interstellar dust—an effect that became known and established in the 1930s. After an initial period of controversy between the Kapteyn and Shapely schools of thought, the latter prevailed.

Catching Glimpses of Extragalactic World

While the overall picture of our Galaxy was taking shape, the astronomers were also becoming aware of what lies beyond. As early as 1755, in his book *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens*, Immanuel Kant laid down what has become known as the 'Island Universe' hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, the Galaxy is a stellar system floating like an island in space along with innumerable other such systems separated by enormous distances.

This idea was slow to catch on despite evidence coming through observations. For example, in the beginning of this century spiral nebulae were known as individual entities. But how large and how distant were they? As late as 1920, many astronomers believed that the Galaxy is larger than any other system and that the spiral nebulae were part of it or its satellites. A minority, however, believed like Kant that these nebulae were very distant and were galaxies in their own right.

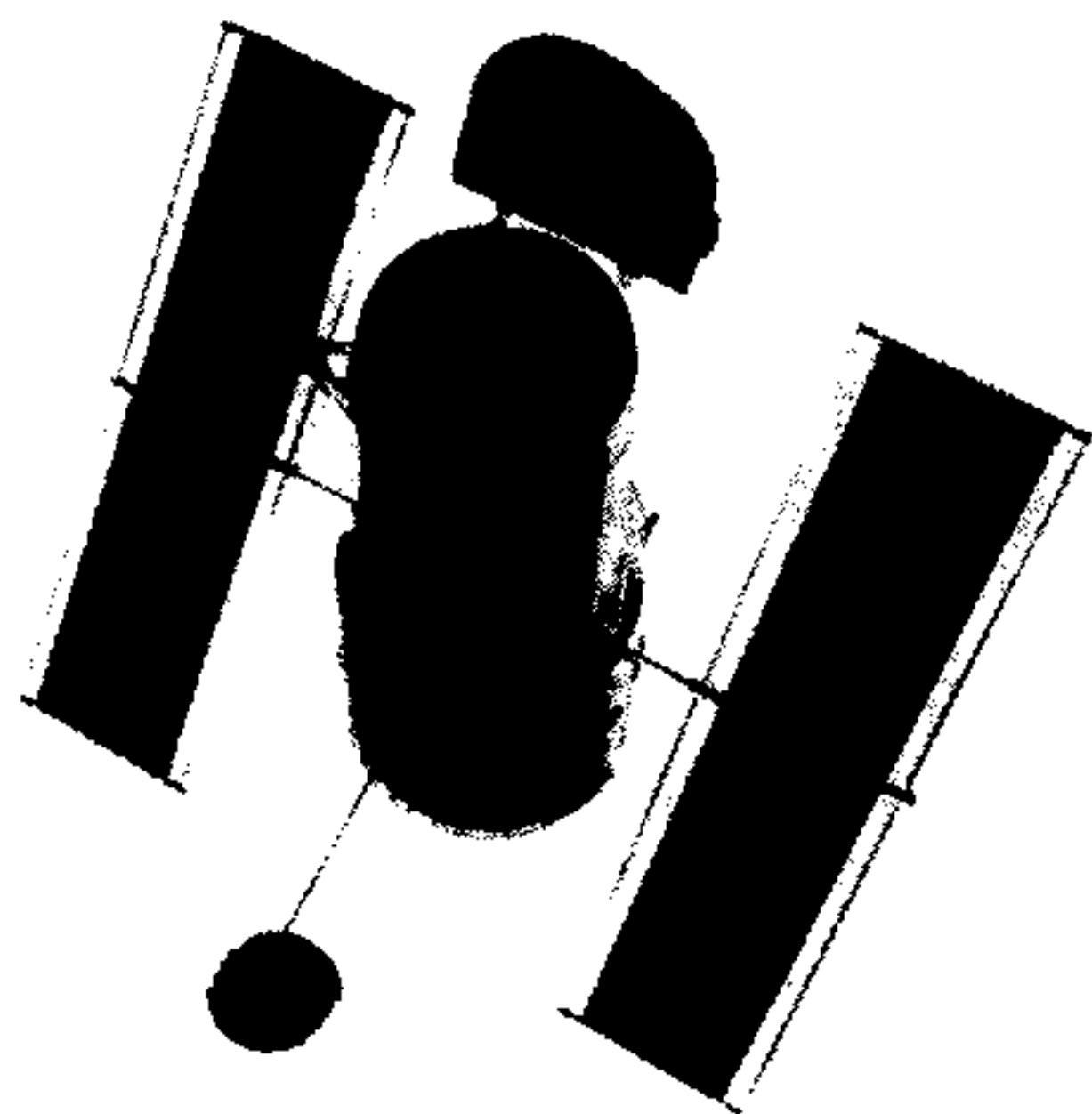
Harlow Shapely who had been correct in the controversy regarding the Galactic Centre was on the wrong side in this argument. In 1919, for example, there was a debate between Shapely and Curtis with the latter

maintaining the Kantian view. A major factor in these arguments was the claim by Van Maanen at the Mount Wilson Observatory that spiral nebulae like M 33, M 81, etc (M denoting the Messier Catalogue) possessed proper motions, ie, they moved perpendicular to the line of sight. If this claim was correct then they could not be very far as, otherwise, their transverse speeds would have to be impossibly high.

However, thanks to the work of Edwin Hubble who measured the distances of such nebulae, the Curtis claim gradually prevailed. Moreover, by the mid-1930s Van Maanen's claim lost credibility as it could not be substantiated by others and the doors to the vast extragalactic universe were thrown open.

Hubble's Law and the Expanding Universe

The extragalactic nature of faint nebulae was thus becoming clear, thanks to the distance measurements by Edwin Hubble. Hub-



Hubble telescope

ble was able to demonstrate that these nebulae were galaxies in their own right, containing hundreds of billions of stars like our Milky Way.

Side by side with this development, between 1912 and 1925, V.M. Slipher discovered a novel feature of these galaxies. The spectra of these galaxies showed absorption lines that were generally redshifted. That is, these lines were seen at longer wavelengths than their standard laboratory values. If one interprets

this shift as a Doppler shift, then the implication is that the source of light is moving away from us as observers. The Doppler shift formula tells us that the fractional increase in wavelength multiplied by the speed of light is the speed of radial recession.

When Hubble and his junior colleague Milton Humason combined the redshift observations with their distance measurements, a clear signal emerged. The farther the source galaxy the larger was its radial velocity of recession. In 1929, Hubble was able to express the result as a linear relation:

$$V=H.D$$

where V is the velocity of recession and D the distance of the galaxy. H is a constant, known as Hubble's constant. The value Hubble got for this constant was 530 km/second/megaparsec.

Hubble's Law as above came to be known and showed for the first time that the large scale universe may not be static but is a dynamic entity. How to model a dynamic universe was therefore a challenging problem for theorists and was to lead them to the foundations of the subject of cosmology. The popular theoretical model to emerge was that in which the universe exploded into existence in a primordial event, usually called the 'big bang'. It has been expanding ever since. Before we proceed further with this story, let us look at another branch of astronomy which was making remarkable progress.

Understanding of Stellar Structure

As astronomers were able to classify stars according to their luminosity and surface temperature, the latter made possible by spectroscopy, astrophysicists began to apply the laws of physics they had learnt in the terrestrial laboratory to stars. Around 1920, the Indian physicist Meghnad Saha laid the foundations of stellar astrophysics by his famous 'ionization equation'. Questions relating to a deeper understanding of stars, such as: what makes a star shine, what are the forces controlling its equilibrium, how does energy propagate outwards within its inte-

rior, etc could now be meaningfully posed.

It was Arthur Stanley Eddington who pioneered the subject of stellar structure. Eddington's equations of stellar structure basically formulated the physics behind the questions posed above. Solving these equations, Eddington could deduce that the stellar interior would typically be made of hot plasma whose temperature falls outwards from a very high central value of upwards of 10 million degrees C. Likewise its thermal and radiation pressures decrease outwards, thereby supplying the force necessary to keep it in equilibrium against its own gravity.

It is these high core temperatures that hold the key to the secret of stellar energy. Following the ideas of J. Perrin, Eddington argued that temperatures of such high order would induce thermonuclear fusion, leading to the formation of helium from the fusion of hydrogen nuclei.

In a hot plasma, hydrogen nuclei are stripped of their electrons and move freely. But how could four such positively charged particles overcome their mutual repulsion and fuse together? The nuclear physicists were sceptical of Eddington's ideas and felt that even at the high temperatures he was talking about, nuclear fusion would not happen. In his classic book, *The Internal Constitution of the Stars*, published in the mid-twenties, Eddington poured scorn on his critics: 'We do not argue with the critic who urges that the stars are not hot enough for this process; we tell him to go and find a hotter place.'

Within a decade, however, the nature of nuclear force whose attractive power at close range dwarfs any electric repulsion, became established and Eddington's conjecture was proved. In 1939 Hans Bethe, a nuclear physicist, constructed solar models in which the then available information on thermonuclear fusion was put in. With this work, it became possible to predict the physical characteristics of a star like its radius, surface temperature and colour, its luminosity, etc, given its mass. For this landmark work, Bethe was awarded

the Nobel Prize in 1967.

The Origin of Elements

There were two attacks on the problem of understanding the origin of chemical elements in the universe, both in the 1940s. George Gamow and his younger colleagues Ralph Alpher and Robert Herman explored the avenue provided by big bang cosmology. According to this model, during the period of around 1-200 seconds, the universe passed through a density-temperature phase when conditions were suitable for thermonuclear fusion. Gamow believed that this process would generate most atomic nuclei found in the universe.

In the end, it turned out that the process worked only for light nuclei, up to essentially helium. The gap between the atomic mass range 5-8, caused by the lack of stable nuclei, made the nucleosynthesis process impossible beyond this range.

In 1946, in a paper in the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Fred Hoyle proposed the alternative route of stellar nucleosynthesis. As stellar models had demonstrated, stars like the Sun are making helium in a slow but steady way by synthesizing hydrogen nuclei. Why not pursue this process further in evolutionary stages?

Again, the gap in the mass range 5-8 became an obstacle. Although Ed Salpeter had proposed 'jumping' across this gap to make carbon from three helium nuclei, a three-body collision, being rare, would not work. In 1954, Hoyle came up with the ingenious solution that the reaction to carbon is a *resonant reaction*. His calculations suggested that this reaction should produce an excited state of carbon which would subsequently decay to normal state. The question was, did such an excited state of carbon exist?

The question was soon settled when Ward Whaling and Willy Fowler at Caltech found it by experiment! And so, not only was the crucial gap bridged, but a way was found to understand the evolution of stars beyond the main sequence. The next important land-

mark in stellar nucleosynthesis was the comprehensive work of Geoffrey and Margaret Burbidge, Willy Fowler and Fred Hoyle in 1957. Popularly known as the B^2FH theory, it explained how most nuclei are formed in stars.

Did this supplant the primordial nucleosynthesis of Gamow et al? Not quite! That theory was to make a comeback, as we shall see next.

Cosmic Microwave Background

In 1964, Arno Penzias and Robert Wilson at the Bell Telephone Laboratory, Holmdel, New Jersey, made an unexpected discovery while testing their horn-shaped antenna for some galactic observations in the microwaves. Working at 7.35 cm wavelength, they found that after subtracting contributions from all known sources, there still remained an isotropic background of radiation. If the radiation were in thermal equilibrium, its equivalent black body temperature came to around 3.5K. What was this radiation due to?

We just described the primordial nucleosynthesis theory of George Gamow and his collaborators. A by-product of that work was a deduction, first published by Gamow's collaborators Ralph Alpher and Robert Herman in *Nature* in 1948, that the early hot era of nucleosynthesis would leave behind a relic radiation background.

The Gamow idea of primordial nucleosynthesis and relic radiation was, however, independently resurrected in the early 1960s by R.H. Dicke and P.J.E. Peebles in Princeton and by Ya B. Zeldovich in Moscow. The Princeton group had in fact begun to set up an antenna to detect the radiation, when the news of the discovery by Penzias and Wilson reached them. They could interpret the isotropic background found by Penzias and Wilson as the relic of big bang.

This discovery of an isotropic microwave background radiation (MBR) has been considered the most significant theory in cosmology since Hubble's Law. Moreover, it was considered the strongest support for the big

bang hypothesis. In 1978, Penzias and Wilson were awarded the Nobel Prize for this discovery. The strength of this evidence grew as further observations led to a confirmation that the spectrum of MBR is indeed that of a black body with a presently estimated temperature of 2.73K (K measures temperature on the absolute or *Kelvin* scale. The absolute zero stands for nearly -273 degrees C).

Astronomical Telescopes

We have been remiss in missing out an important series of achievements on the observational front, namely the discovery and development of optical telescopes. The pioneer, of course, was Galileo Galilei who in 1609 first used a modified version of the telescope invented a few months earlier by Hans Lippershey in Holland. The potential of the telescope for astronomy was demonstrated by Galileo's discovery of the sunspots, lunar craters and the inner four satellites of Jupiter. After an initial mistrust of this new instrument, the telescopes gained in popularity amongst astronomers and instruments with bigger and better lenses came into operation. There was, however, the problem that because of dispersion of light through a glass lens there was a chromatic aberration in the images produced, besides other problems like difficulties of focusing images sharply.

For this reason, the infracting telescopes were gradually replaced by the reflecting types where a primary mirror, preferably paraboloidal in shape, performed a much better job than a lens. The prototype of the basic instrument was made by no less a person than Isaac Newton. This model was gradually improved upon and telescopes with bigger mirrors were made. The large telescope made by William Herschel in the late eighteenth century was of 48-inch diameter and had a 40-foot-long tube. The reflecting telescopes are more compact than the refracting ones and it is, of course, easier to prepare and maintain one surface (of a mirror) than two (of a lens). They come with various arrangements for focusing the images, such as Cassegrain,

Coude, prime focus, etc.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, a large telescope with 100-inch diameter was constructed on Mount Wilson in Southern California. This telescope played a leading role in opening out the extragalactic world to the astronomers and in establishing the phenomenon of the expanding universe.

An even bigger telescope was in operation by 1949. It was the biggest working telescope in the world for nearly half a century, and it was located on Mount Palomar further south in California. Its primary mirror has a diameter of 200 inches (5 metres). Naturally this telescope played a major role in the studies of the large scale structure of the universe. The last three decades have seen the building of several telescopes in the 4-metre class. In more recent times telescopes even bigger, with 8-10 metre diameter mirrors, are in use.

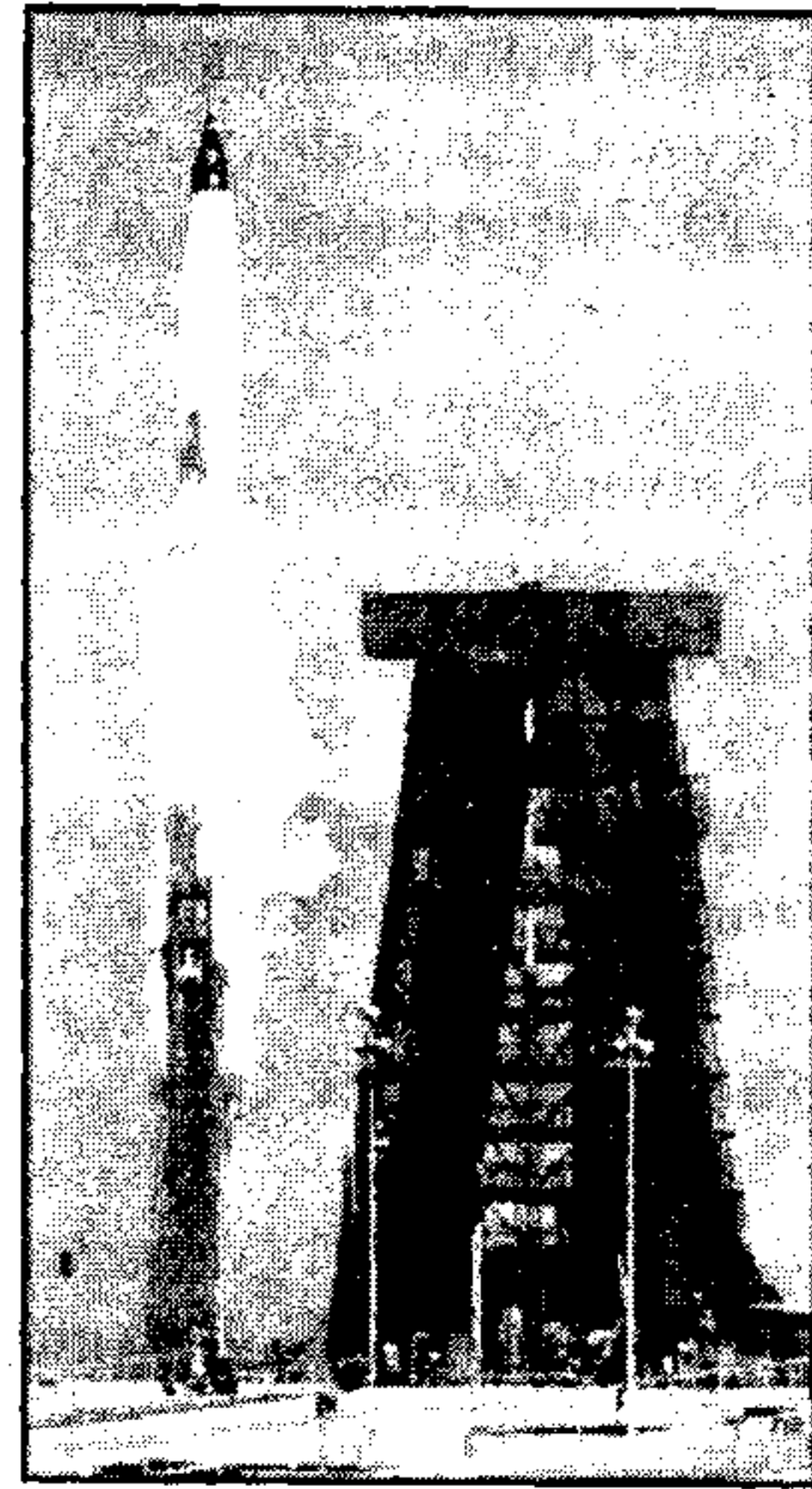
And we should also mention the various new 'astronomies' to have emerged in the last fifty years, using telescopes for radio waves, X-rays, ultraviolet and infrared rays, etc. These have added further dimensions to astronomy.

The Discovery of Quasi-Stellar Objects

Perhaps the event which contributed most towards enlivening extragalactic astronomy this century was the discovery in 1963 of the quasi-stellar objects.

As the adjective 'quasi-stellar' suggests, these objects have a star-like appearance (in contrast to the fuzzy appearance of galaxies), and they had earlier been mistaken for stars. The appreciation of their rather extraordinary nature came about, thanks to a cooperation between optical and radio astronomers.

Radio astronomers C. Hazard, M.B. Mackay and A.J. Shimmins took the first step in this venture in 1962, when they used the then new method of lunar occultation. The radio source 3C 273 was going to be occulted by the Moon and the drop in its radio flux during the period of occultation could be used to pinpoint the position of the source very accurately. These observations were car-



Space Age begins

ried out by the trio at Parkes Radio Astronomy Observatory.

The accurate position coordinates of the source were conveyed to the optical astronomers using the then largest telescope of 5 metres on Mount Palomar. With the help of optical plates, the source was identified with a 13th magnitude star. However, it was only when Maarten Schmidt at the Palomar Observatory took the spectrum of the object that its extraordinary nature became clear. The spectrum had emission lines, which are somewhat unusual for a star, but even more importantly, they showed a redshift of 0.158, which was unheard of for a star. Thus the source was not a star. What was it?

Shortly thereafter another radio source, 3C 48, was identified with another star-like object and this one had a redshift even higher, of 0.367. Astronomers realized that they were finding a new population of sources. What was the cause of their high redshifts?

Assumptions that the redshift was Doppler or gravitational in origin were tried, but they placed almost impossible constraints on the early models. The third option, that of cosmological redshift (due to expansion of the universe), was known for galaxies and

could be applied to these sources. This placed them well beyond the Galaxy and, therefore, also demanded that they were even more powerful emitters of light than the typical galaxy.

This requirement coupled with the compact size of the source meant that it had its energy reservoir within a very tiny volume compared to a galaxy. In the early part of 1963, Fred Hoyle and William Fowler proposed that the energy source lay in the gravitational field of a compact supermassive object, later to be identified with the name 'black hole'.

Today, around 10,000 quasars have been found and they have provided a wealth of menu to astronomers and astrophysicists. The former have to contend with multi-wavelength observations ranging from radio to X-rays, while the latter have to provide models of high energy astrophysics, using at times inputs from general relativity.

Molecules in Space

In 1944 van de Hulst had derived an important result that the atom of neutral hydrogen has two states for its electron, an upper energy state when it is spinning parallel to the proton and a lower energy state when it is spinning anti-parallel to it, and a transition from the former to the latter gives rise to a wave of 21 cm wavelength. In the early days of radio astronomy, this wavelength played a major role in identifying the presence of neutral hydrogen as the predominant component of the interstellar medium.

Nevertheless, astronomers by and large were not prepared to accept the presence of molecules distributed in giant clouds in the interstellar space, as proposed, for example, by Fred Hoyle with R.A. Lyttleton in 1940. Although Andrew McKeller discovered CH and CN by using optical methods, the real

burst of activities began when in 1963 OH was discovered by S. Weinrab, A.H. Barrett, M.L. Meeks and J.C. Henry at the radio wavelength of 18 cm.

Because molecular transitions occur at such energies that the resulting photons are by and large emitted in the millimetre wavelengths (rather than at the radio wavelengths), antennas suitably designed for receiving radiation at such wavelengths began to be set up. The lead was taken by the NARO at Green Bank in the USA and by the CSIRO in Australia. Thus in 1968, water and ammonia were discovered at wavelengths of 1.35 cm and 1.26 cm respectively, as predicted by Charles Towns in 1955.

The sixties and the seventies saw molecular astronomy come into its own, with the realization that there are giant clouds with molecules filling the interstellar space. A typical molecular cloud is around a light year across, whereas there may be hundreds of such regions in a giant molecular cloud extending to 100 light years. The process of star formation takes place in the relatively denser molecular clouds.

But what has been impressive is the wealth of molecules found, organic as well as inorganic. For example, HC₉N (cyano-octatetrayn) is an example of a molecule with 11 atoms. Other more familiar molecules include methanol, acetaldehyde, dimethyl ether, etc. The origin of these molecules and their interaction in space form topics for the newly emerging branch of 'astrochemistry'.

The presence of organic molecules in space has also strengthened the speculation that extraterrestrial habitats for life may exist in the Galaxy. Perhaps the greatest discovery of the next millennium, perhaps the next century, will be that we are not alone in the universe. □

Vedanta and modern science both posit a self-evolving Cause. ... Physical science is to find out facts, metaphysics is the thread to bind the flowers into a bouquet.

—Swami Vivekananda

India and the World: Retrospect and Prospect

A.N.D. HAKSAR

How does a stalwart from the diplomatic circles look at India and the world of the past and the future? We present the invaluable reflections of a renowned former career diplomat. Sri A.N.D. Haksar served as India's ambassador to Yugoslavia, Portugal, Kenya and Seychelles, and as president of the United Nations Environment Programme. A graduate of Allahabad and Oxford Universities, Sri Haksar lives near Delhi, writing on international affairs and translating Sanskrit classics. Four of his works have been published by Penguin Books.

India's diversity extends to the eras and calendars used in the country. According to the Shaka Samvat, a new century and millennium will begin only 78 years from now. For the followers of the Vikrama era, these have already commenced 57 years ago. The country has several systems for recording the passage of time, each with its own point of reference. These include the one now used universally, which marks this year as the advent of the 21st century and the third millennium.

The commencement of any new cycle of time is an appropriate occasion for a 'lion's view', to use the Sanskrit expression for a brief look behind as one moves forward. The *simhavalokana* undertaken here is confined to India's interaction with the outside world during the 20th century, and the prospects this presents for the years ahead.

The year 1947 constitutes an obvious watershed in India's history during the last century. The country attained freedom from colonial rule in that year, and at the same time underwent partition into the independent states of India and Pakistan. The global scene had its own watersheds, which also affected India. These included the two World Wars, and the revolutions in Russia and China in the first half of the century. The second half saw the spread of de-colonization, the Cold War and the subsequent stirrings of a new world order which is still in evolution. In the South

Asian region, where India is located, the last fifty years were further marked by modernization, conflicts, the birth of a new state and the beginning of regional cooperation.

All these changes influenced India's international relations, but there were some constant factors which provided a foundation for them. These were India's pivotal geo-strategic location, its large size and resources, its immense population, orderly tradition of governance, and a long history of culture and civilization. An important consequence of these features was that Indian developments had a continuing resonance outside and provided models for what may happen elsewhere.

In the century preceding independence, India's size and resources, geography and history, made it the natural 'crown jewel of the British Empire.' It became the centrepiece of British colonial administration in Asia from Suez to Singapore and beyond. While India's external relations were controlled by Britain for its own benefit, they nevertheless expanded, increasing Indian contacts with the world outside. Indian merchant communities became established in Africa and Southeast Asia. Indian labour was settled as far apart as Guyana, Mauritius and Fiji. Indian armies were deployed in Europe, East Africa and the Middle East during the World Wars. Funding of the second war made India

a substantial creditor nation by its end, and provided a financial base for an independent start.

Of more lasting importance for India's external relations, the growth of English as the medium of higher education in the country from the 19th century onwards enabled a steady spread of ideas. Modern political and economic thought, science and technology flowed into India in an ever increasing tide, and India's aspirations for freedom and upliftment, as well as its ancient wisdom, came to be progressively better known abroad. The West was introduced to the latter by savants like Swami Vivekananda who had the ability to interpret either culture to the other. The Indian liberation struggle provided an inspiration for other countries under colonial rule in Asia and Africa. After India's independence, its administration and economic development became a model for study and emulation by many newly free countries, just as its timeless message found receptive audiences in the developed world.

A major global phenomenon after World War II was the collapse of the old colonial empires and the emergence of their former possessions as separate new states. Another was the commencement of the Cold War between the victors of the previous conflict, and the determination of most recently free countries to stay aloof from this new confrontation. India provided a conceptual lead in both de-colonization and non-alignment, and helped to shape these two movements which had an important role in the evolution of international affairs throughout the second half of the 20th century. A related movement, of which India was also among the initiators and proponents, was the grouping of less developed countries to seek a more equitable share in global economic growth.

All these activities took place in close association with the United Nations, which had been established at the end of the Second World War. A founder member of this organization, India became a leading spokesman of

the non-aligned and developing countries in its deliberations, and among the most active participants in its peace keeping and other activities.

The relative smoothness with which India appeared on the global scene as a force for peace and stability in a world often on the brink of war, was not matched by its record in regional affairs. The latter included continual turbulence in relations with Pakistan, which thrice erupted in open war, and sporadic tensions with other neighbours, twice leading to conflict. The seeds of the first relationship were sown in the same march of events which led to the partition of 1947. The others reflected structural problems inherent in relations between a large country and small neighbours. The case of relations with China had its own set of circumstances. A small beginning has been made in recent years for improving the latter, as also for promoting South Asian regional cooperation. But the establishment of durable and harmonious relations with all its neighbours remains a challenge for India and the countries concerned in the 21st century.

The current notions of regional and global peace presuppose a world of nation states, endeavouring individually or collectively to harmonize their separate interests which may otherwise prove antagonistic. The 20th century was characterized by such a world, seeking coexistence but often shaken by conflict and, towards the end of the century, pursuing both nuclear armament and disarmament. Several signs of gradual transformation have however become apparent in recent decades.

Progress in science and technology, specially the revolutions in armaments, information and communications have knit the world together as never before. The problems of population explosion, environmental degradation and global market fluctuation have emerged as transitional issues likely to dwarf individual national interests. The devising of collective strategies to tackle vital questions

affecting the 'global village' as a whole is bound to assume increasing importance in coming years.

India's interaction with the world outside has been marked by its inputs of thought, whether of philosophy and mathematics in ancient times, or of independence and development in the modern period. Its contribution to the continued evolution of global affairs could again be most productive in the realm of ideas and example. It has been a civilization far longer than a nation state. Its history as a plural society of ever increasing multiplicity is old and rich with instructive possibility. Its traditional values enshrine the ideal of the unity of all humanity, reflected in the maxim *vasudhaiva kutumbakam*—the world is one family. The growing appeal of its ancient wisdom in other parts of the world

has been a perceptible process in the 20th century which may gather further momentum in the 21st. Finally, it constitutes a vast reservoir of skilled manpower which is gradually spreading abroad.

On the threshold of the new century, India continues to be faced with daunting internal problems of population and poverty, social reform and economic uplift, and the consolidation of a just, honest and democratic polity. On how it will deal with them all will depend its place among the power centres of the emerging multi-polar world. In the longer term however, this may be of lesser significance than India's contribution to the wider world of thought and spirit, in keeping with its past role in history, may prove to be of greater significance. □

A Hundred Years to Come

Who'll press for gold this crowded street,
A hundred years to come?

Who'll tread yon church with willing feet
A hundred years to come?

Pale, trembling age and fiery youth,
And childhood with his brow of truth,
The rich and poor, on land, on sea,
Where will the mighty millions be,
A hundred years to come?

We all within our graves shall sleep,
A hundred years to come;
No living soul for us will weep,
A hundred years to come.

But other men our land will till,
And others then our streets will fill,
And other words will sing in joy,
And bright the sunshine as today,
A hundred years to come.

—Anonymous

PHILOSOPHY

Indian Philosophy During the Past Millennium: A Survey

DR AMARNATH BHATTACHARYA

Dr Amarnath Bhattacharya, who teaches philosophy at the University of Burdwan, gives a brilliant synopsis of all that has taken place in the field of Indian philosophy during the previous millennium. Dr Bhattacharya is the author of the important work Foundations of Theism: An Indian Approach.

This paper covers the history of the diverse systems of Indian philosophy that flourished in India during the past 1000 years. It provides a brief survey, designed to give a nodding acquaintance with the most important Indian philosophers.

In the history of Indian philosophy, the 10th century CE is marked by the rise of Nyāya logic, Buddhist logic, post-Śaṅkara Advaita Vedānta, Śaivism and the philosophy of Aesthetics. Buddhist logic, in India, developed as a criticism of the Nyāya theory of inference. The Naiyāyikas also adjusted, modified, and developed their theories to meet the challenges of the Buddhist logicians. Vācaspati I (976 CE), who wrote works covering the five major systems of Indian philosophy, in his *Tūtparyāṭikā* defends the position of Uddyotakara, the author of the *Nyāyavārttika*, refuting the charges made by Dharmakīrti, a distinguished Buddhist logician. Jñānaśrī (1041 CE) and his disciple, Ratnakīrti, wrote lots of treatises to support Dharmakīrti's view. They vehemently criticized Vācaspati's view. Thereafter, Udayana (1054 CE) in his *Ātmatattvavivēka*, *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, *Parīśuddhi* and *Kiraṇāvalī* refuted the views of Jñānaśrī and Ratnakīrti, the last two pillars of Buddhist logic, by astounding reasoning. As Jñānaśrī's successors failed to protect their traditional lineaments, Buddhist logic came to an undeserved end. The older phase of the Nyāya system, known as Prācīna Nyāya also came to

an end with Udayana for want of rivalry.

Udayana's successors sought rivals among the Advaitins and Prābhākaras. Vallabhācārya (1100-1150 CE), a Vaiśeṣika thinker, in his *Nyāyalīlāvātī* adversely criticizes Advaita metaphysics. Śrīharṣa (12th century), a faithful follower of the Śaṅkara school, meets the challenge and endeavours to refute the categories admitted by the Vaiśeṣikas and Naiyāyikas in his famous work *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhāḍya*. Consequently, Gaṅgeśa (1320 CE), a native of Mithilā, in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* puts the traditional views aside and introduces neo-Nyāya (Navya Nyāya). He deals with epistemology, logic, physics, mathematics and the philosophy of grammar. Gaṅgeśa's newness is more a matter of style and organization than any revolutionary theory. Navya Nyāya signifies a literature which utilizes a certain technical vocabulary to explicate Nyāya concepts. The treatment of relations is a distinguishing trait of Navya Nyāya. Any individual, the neo-logicians say, sustains relations with other individuals. Gaṅgeśa's neo-Nyāya received its full-bodied form in Vāteśvara's (1340 CE) *Darpana* and Vardhamāna's (1345 CE) *Prakāśa* commentaries, Cinnamṛta's (1390 CE) *Prakāśikā*, Śaṅkara Miśra's (1430 CE) *Vādivinoda*, Vācaspati Miśra's II (1440 CE) *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*, Yajñapati Upādhyāya's (1460 CE) *Prabhā*, Pakṣadhara Miśra's (1470 CE) *Ālōka*, and Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma's (1480 CE)

Sārāvalī. Thus Mithilā remained for some 250 years the centre of study of Gaṅgeśa's work.

Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (1510 CE), a brilliant but disrespectful pupil of Pakṣadhara Miśra, returned to Navadvīpa after studying in Mithilā. He wrote the *Dīdhiiti* commentaries to drastically revise Nyāya tradition. In them, although he supports Yajñapati's views at places, he refutes Pakṣadhara's views at every step. The *Dīdhiiti* on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* is his great triumph. He developed a new 'Navya Nyāya of Bengal' effecting notable changes in the traditional thought-currents of the Mithilā school, inducting new sparks of thought. From the time of Raghunātha onwards Navadvīpa became the centre of study of Navya Nyāya. After Raghunātha, the three pillars of Navya Nyāya of Bengal were Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa (1600 CE), Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra (1610 CE) and Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya (17th century), and their commentaries were designated as *Māthuri*, *Jagadīśi* and *Gādādhari* respectively. Annambhaṭṭa (17th century) sought to evolve a consistent system from out of the ancient and the modern Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika philosophy. His *Tarkasaṅgraha* and *Dīpikā* are popular manuals of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. Navya Nyāya of Bengal flourished till the first quarter of the last century.

The Vaiśeṣikas, sometimes the Naiyāyikas and Mīmāṃsakas also, wrote works on the Vaiśeṣika system, viz Vyomaśiva's (900 CE) *Vyomavatī*, Śrīdhara's (950 CE) *Nyāyakandalī*, Śrīvatsa's (1000 CE) *Līlāvatī*, Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī*, Śivāditya's (1100 CE) *Saptapadārthī*, Mādhava's (14th century) *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, Saṅkara Miśra's (1430 CE) *Upaskāra*, Jayanārāyaṇa's *Vivṛti* and Candrakānta's *Bhaṣya*. Śivāditya first presented the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika principles as parts of one whole, and Jagadīśa in his *Tarkāmṛta* introduces a new Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system blending Nyāya epistemology with Vaiśeṣika metaphysics. Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṅgraha* and Viśvanātha's *Bhāṣāpariccheda* present the same literature.

The Mīmāṃsakas affiliated to the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā wrote lots of works. Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāyakaṇṭhika* on the *Vidhiviveka*, Pārthasārathi Miśra's (10th century) *Śāstradīpikā*, Nyāyaratnamālā and *Tantrāloka*, Bhavadeva's (1100 CE) *Tautātimatatilaka*, Rāṇaka's *Nyāyasudhā*, Nārāyaṇa's (16th century) *Mānamiyodaya*, Laugakṣi's (16th century) *Arthasaṅgraha*, works of Appayya Dikṣita and the *Bhāṭṭacin-tāmaṇi* of Gāgā Bhaṭṭa (17th century) give the entire view of the Bhāṭṭa school. On the contrary, the teachers of the Prābhākara school also wrote works in great numbers. Of those works, Bhavanātha Miśra's (10th century) *Nyāyaviveka*, Candra's (1100 CE) *Anṛtabindu*, Nandīśvara's (14th century) *Prābhākara-vijaya* and Rāmānujācārya's (18th century) *Tantrarahasya* are worthy of mention. Coming to the twentieth century, we find that several scholars devoted their energy to writing works on the Mīmāṃsā system. Of them, the names of Mahamahopadhyayas Ganganath Jha, Krishnanath Nyayapanchanan, A. Chinnaswami Shastri, S. Kuppaswami Shastri and Gopinath Kaviraj deserve special mention. It is generally believed that the Mīmāṃsakas are atheist. But in my work *Foundation of Theism: An Indian Approach* I have shown that the Mīmāṃsā philosophy is not atheistic in spirit. The Mīmāṃsakas say God is comprehensible through scripture. They only seek to refute the strategy adopted by the Naiyāyikas that God is capable of being known through the process of inference.

The Advaita Vedānta propounded by Śaṅkara is popular with the people at large. His two disciples, Padmapāda and Sureśvara, interpret the *bhāṣyas* of Śaṅkara in the light of the theories of reflection (*pratibimba*) and appearance (*ābhāsa*) respectively. Vācaspati I wrote *Bhāmātī*, a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Brahma Sūtra-bhāṣya*. He defends the Advaita position, refuting the charges made by the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. He adumbrates the theory of limitation (*avaccheda*). In course of time three distinct schools of Śaṅkara's Ad-

vaitavāda developed. In order to make it more popular, Kṛṣṇamiśra (11th century) wrote the drama *Prabodhacandrodaya*, Śrīharṣa (12th century) composed *Naiṣadhacarita* and Veṅkaṭanātha (14th century) wrote *Saṅkalpasūryodaya*.

The contribution of the Śaiva philosophers to the development of Indian philosophy deserves mention. The Śaiva philosophy rests on the twofold tradition of the Vedas and Āgamas. It mainly deals with the problem of genesis, maintenance and destruction, veiling up of the truth, and liberation. The Śaiva philosophy and the worship of Śiva spread far and wide throughout the whole of India. Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* gives an account of four kinds of Śaiva philosophy—Śaiva, Nakulīśa Pāsupata, Raseśvara and Pratyabhijñā. Utpala's (930 CE) *Pratyabhijñā-sūtra* and Abhinavagupta's (10th century) *Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī* add to the stock of works of Kāśmīra Śaivism. The Vīraśaiva philosophy appears to be of a later date. Revaṇācārya's *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* (13th century) perhaps contains the earliest reference to Vīraśaivism.

Śaivism gave rise to Śāktism. The cult of Śakti, known as the Tantra school, puts emphasis on the awakening of the *kulakuṇḍalinī* and the piercing of the six *cakras*. In course of time schools of the non-Brāhmaṇic Tantra, Kāpālikas and *dāka* gang-robbery developed. So in the fifteenth century Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa wrote *Tantrasāra* in order to protect Brāhmaṇic Tantra.

In the eleventh century we find the rise of the doctrine of Dvaitādvaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita. Each theoretician adversely criticizes the doctrines of the Advaitins. Rāmānuja's doctrine of *bhakti* came in conflict with Śaṅkara's *jñānavāda*. In his work *Śrībhāṣya*, Rāmānuja (11th century) adversely criticizes the views of Śaṅkara. But the later teachers of Advaita Vedānta met the challenge. Furthermore, Advaitānanda (12th century) in his work *Brahmavidyābharaṇa* and Śrīharṣa in his magnum opus *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā* take great pains to demolish the charges made by

the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Vaiśeṣika philosophers. In the thirteenth century Madhvācārya, the founder of the doctrine of *sarvatantrasvatantra*—a culmination of Vaiṣṇava *bhaktivāda*—vehemently attacked the Advaita view and even Śaṅkara personally. Thereafter, Citsukha (13th century) spent all his energy in exerting control over Gaṅgeśa, the pioneer of Navya Nyāya, by disproving all the categories admitted by the Vaiśeṣikas and Naiyāyikas. The works of Vidyāraṇya (13th century) and Sāyaṇa (13th century) enriched monistic thought once more.

The writings of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, Umāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa (14th century) show the influence of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult in Bengal and Bihar, and Caitanya gave a new form to the Vaiṣṇava faith. Caitanya (1485 CE) was the last of the Vaiṣṇava reformers who succeeded Nimbārka and Vallabha. He sought to remove all the barricades of caste and creed. He wrote practically nothing; it would be better to say that his work is not handed down to us. So it is extremely difficult to point out as anything being the philosophy of Caitanya. We know about Caitanya from the accounts given by his biographers. Vṛndāvanadāsa's *Caitanyabhāgavata* and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* stand out as the most important biographical works on Caitanya. Jīva Gosvāmī (17th century) and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (17th century) were probably the only persons who sought to present some kind of philosophy of Caitanya. Caitanya's *bhakti* is a mode of self-realization of God's own blissful nature. Its mode of operation is such that here the *hlādinī* power of God works itself by taking the mind of the devotee as its constituent. Its nature is such that it is blissful not only to God but also to the devotee. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, Jīva Gosvāmī's *Ṣaṭsandarbha* and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Govindabhāṣya* on the *Brahma Sūtras* present the philosophy of Caitanya. Caitanya, it is believed, adumbrates the doctrine of *acintyabhedābheda*, and Baladeva nicely formulates it.

Turning to the sixteenth century, we find that Vyāsarāja (16th century), a champion of the Madhva school, in his famous work *Nyāyāmṛta* makes a rushing attack on Ānandabodha and Citsukha. Thereafter, Madhsūdāna Sarasvatī (17th century) in his magnum opus *Advaitasiddhi* thoroughly refutes the dualism advocated by Vyāsarāja and protects the Advaita position.

Thus, it reveals that during the past 1000 years diverse systems of philosophy prevailed in India. The different theoreticians have adjusted, modified and developed their respective theories in the face of criticism made by their opponents. But inquisitive students of Indian philosophy are not at all perplexed. The intellectual deliberations of the philosophers excite curiosity and cause them to take interest.

India believes in progress. The march of human thought is a forward movement. A student of Indian philosophy takes great pleasure, surcharged by surprise, when he goes through the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo. Sri Aurobindo advises posterity to transcend material life and to become complete beings—to become complete in being, in the consciousness, force, and delight of being—and to live in this completeness is divine living. To feel all selves as one's own self and to feel all delight of being as one's own delight

is a necessary condition of divine living. Interestingly, Sri Ramakrishna feels it necessary to synthesize all diverse systems of Indian philosophy. He is of the opinion that each system can lead one to the state of final release. The 'Practical Vedanta' enunciated by Swami Vivekananda also teaches unity in diversity, the understanding of which gives rise to the understanding of universal religion. The philosophy of Swami Vivekananda is, therefore, popular today with people at large.

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Swamiji's Observations on Indian Philosophy

We find that a Shankaracharya, or a Ramanuja, or a Madhvacharya, or a Vallabhacharya, or a Chaitanya—anyone who wanted to propound a new sect—had to take up these three systems (the Upanishads, the *Vyasa Sutras*, and the Gita) and write only a new commentary on them. Therefore it would be wrong to confine the word Vedanta only to one system which has arisen out of the Upanishads. ... The infinite oneness of the Soul is the eternal sanction of all morality, that you and I are not only brothers—every literature voicing man's struggle towards freedom has preached that for you—but that you and I are really one. This is the dictate of Indian philosophy.

—Swami Vivekananda

What do World Youth Want?

How does the younger generation look at the past and the present millennia? What exactly do the youth want for the future? Prabuddha Bharata had supplied a few questions to the young between 18 and 30. Some brilliant, concerned and thoughtful young men and women from various countries present their ideas here. Unfortunately, many could not respond in time. Our readers will be happy to know that the youth of the world—be it Russia or America, UK or India—are all seeking something higher. We thank the participants for their worthwhile thoughts.

What are your impressions of the past millennium?

Ms Aswina Samtani
Accountancy Student
London, UK

The past millennium has been one of discovery. In the world of science and technology, man has created many wonders. The last 100 years has also seen a change in people's attitude—from one of 'physical' exploration of all environmental objects to an increasingly introverted 'questioning' approach. ☆

Mr Audrius Beinorius
Department of Asian Studies
Vilnius University, Lithuania

The past millennium, at first sight, appears to be a colourful period indeed: full of tensions, uprisings and downfalls. I have this impression: it appears like a pot full of colours, containing a mixture of various cultures, languages, nations, ideals, and values. This seemingly contradictory mixture has helped us discover that we all have our own glasses through which we perceive the world. This discovery of the past millennium is of great importance. ☆

Ms Barnali Das
Medical Student
New Delhi, India

The past millennium? Does the world have any pointer on the sorrows and smiles of the past millennium? No, because they are

like dewdrops in the flow of time. However, though humanity has suffered a lot in the past millennium, spiritual stars, twinkling brightly, inspire us towards the path of progress. ☆

Ms Beryl Hagenburg
Student
Santa Barbara, USA

As a westerner, to me the past millennium appears overwhelmingly characterized by exploration and expansion into the external world. We have explored the massive terrain of our planet, ensuring that her many life-forms meet one another. The simultaneous growth of technology has made our explorations and worldwide interactions easier and quicker. Telephone, television, aeroplane, computer—the technological tools are numerous. Apparently, our exploration of the earth is not expansive enough since we have extended our reach into outer space where the boundaries for further exploration seem not to exist. ☆

Ms Dana Sugu
Textile Engineer
Bucharest, Romania

During the previous millennium, no doubt we have progressed on all spheres of human life. But there was the bad part also. The human mind became more sophisticated, more complicated; thus it cannot be easily

satisfied now. The effects can be seen in its newer, perverse creations. ★

Mr V. Gowtham
Systems Engineer
Bangalore, *India*

During the past millennium human thinking power and intellect reached their peak. Scientific, philosophical, religious, medical, architectural, technological—all the achievements have made the world beautiful but small. ★

Mr Guilherme Testa Silva
Student
Sao Paulo, *Brazil*

The past millennium was one of revolutions, both in the scientific as well as philosophical fields. We observed a succession of paradigms, trying through logical reasoning to conceive the ultimate Reality. Without doubt there were periods of stagnation. However, the search for truth is inherent in human nature. The *Bhagavadgita* says, 'That you think "I shall not fight" by relying on egotism, vain is this determination of yours. Your nature will impel you.' ★

Ms Karen R. Cupeles
Communications Engineer
Puerto Rico, *West Indies*

The previous one has indeed been a millennium of development and progress. Why new technological gadgets, nations themselves have taken birth! And development has been at hurricane speed. We are at the peak of development now. And so our life is so fast and we have no time for ourselves. We are 'workaholics' as we say in the West. ★

Ms Losalini Ratugolea
Teacher
Nadi, *Fiji*

The Fijian language has no word for 'a period of 1000 years'. Our forefathers' perception of time was connected to natural cycles like tide changes, changes in the position of the sun and the moon, and changes in weather patterns. This perception of time was also mostly limited to living memory. Biologically, people's memory goes hardly be-

yond one hundred years. This is why, I think, the Fijian language does not even have a word for 100. We say *drau* which sounds uncomfortably too close to 100. People in developed societies can easily supersede their living memory through technology. They have access to books, photographs, and other documented evidence of the past. But here in Fiji, at the dawn of a new millennium, when it is an opportunity to review things, it is very difficult to even reconstruct the last 200 years. We all have our own impressions of the past. There are things from my people's past that I wish for fervently in the present. I wish for the fish and the *vasua* (a type of shellfish) to come back closer to the shore. I wish for the spontaneous respect that governed people's relations with one another. I wish to hear once more the sound of *polotu* (a special type of hymn-singing, associated only with the Lau people in Fiji) singing to while away time in the village. At the same time, there are aspects of our past which we cringe to even think about, like tribal fighting, aggressiveness, and extremities like cannibalism. I also wish money had never been invented because it has promoted selfishness and individualism amongst Pacific Islanders. ★

Mr Mariano Gabriel Chaher
Student
Tinogasta, *Argentina*

In the earlier millenniums, only some individuals wielded power. In ancient Rome, he who was not a patrician was not considered a Roman citizen at all and, therefore, he did not have any rights and guarantees. Things have changed for the better now. During the past millennium, there was greater participation of people in social life. This ideal of people's participation reached its peak with the French Revolution. Unfortunately, the ideals of fraternity, freedom, and equality promoted by Rousseau and Montesquie during that revolution were lost in the amount of blood spilled then. What I want to underline is that every time a change was thought of, humanity used violent means against what

had already been established. ★

Mr Milen Shah
Medical Student
London, UK

The previous millennium has of course been a time of dramatic change. Empires have come and gone, saints and leaders, and dictators and tyrants have left their marks on the history of humankind. Most interestingly, however, key problems have remained the same—whether it was 1066 or 1999. ★

Mr G.N. Raghavendra Rao
National Aeronautics Ltd
Bangalore, India

The past millennium was one of great scientific advancement; but this led us to two World Wars—killing, brutal bombing and so on. This millennium should teach a lesson to future science. ★

Ms Remadevy
Teacher
Singapore

The past millennium has brought along with it vast scientific advancement. ★

Mr Saroj Kumar Nath
Student
Dhaka, Bangladesh

The world saw great changes during the last millennium, specially during the last two centuries, and more specially during the last fifty years. These changes have altered the traditional stream of ideas, values and lifestyles. An explosion of avenues of knowledge has made humankind more curious, more inquiring. But this curiosity is mainly about the material world. ★

Mr Victor Tcherepanov
Engineer
Moscow, Russia

It is said that the history of humanity is a history of wars as well as of progress. I think it is quite true so far as the past millennium is concerned. There is no need to mention how many wars were fought and how many were killed. Discoveries were made in all branches of science. All this has brought to the world both misery and welfare. ★

Do you think we have progressed well during the past millennium?

Aszoina Samtani, UK: The question of progress is subjective. The well-known adage 'Is the glass half-full or half-empty?' is the core of the question. In the material world, we have created many comfort-giving objects, and have tried to scientifically solve the mysteries of humankind. Spiritually, we have departed from an attitude of simply accepting our heritage and religion to a more practical approach of either rejecting everything or trying to understand why we are really, who we are, and what practical applications spirituality has. Historically, looking back over the past millennia, there are distinctive patterns of behaviour—from times of aggression to times of growth and achievement. ※

Audrius Beinorius, Lithuania: About the progress we have made, I think that in spite of all the present temporal cultural deca-

dence, we are moving forward. We started mistakenly idolizing reason and so have devaluated the higher human gifts. Owing to this we have lost a lot—specially the ability to see reality as it is. Perhaps the most important thing gained by humanity during the past is the integral experience of numerous generations and various lessons of life, which must be studied and taken into consideration before taking any new step. I am inclined to think that we have accumulated a very rich, but at the same time very discrepant, experience. However, we have not spent enough time to rethink those experiences in terms of practical issues. ※

Barnali Das, India: Progress during our past millennium? Great souls taught us, the restless masses. But how much have we learnt? We should, however, think positively.

Spiritual progress is the true progress and the past saw it to a great extent. About material progress, yes; we have progressed scientifically, technologically, and culturally too. Yet, the poor have no helping hands. They are sinking lower and lower. What will you say about this 'achievement' of the past—progress, or downfall? *

Beryl Hagenburg, USA: Continually expanding our external environment is both progressive and destructive—destructive because as human beings explore and expand, we destroy the natural environment, cause massive extinction within the animal kingdom, and repetitively inflict violence and war on one another. However, through our explorations, we have progressed in our ability to witness the interconnectedness of our environment, along with the similarities and differences between species, races, cultures, and religions. Furthermore, as we explore the external world and push its boundaries, our conception of the spatial reality we dwell in continues to grow and take on the characteristic of the infinite. *

Dana Sugu, Romania: That the world has become smaller and differences between religions etc have reduced is merely a guess. The distance between people's hearts has increased because of their desire to keep their own selves protected; there is fear and suspicion. We have learned how to hide what we feel, and to smile when we don't feel like doing so. Simplicity, the quality of being ourselves under any circumstances, which is not always a sign of ignorance only, has been completely rejected and ridiculed. Thus the past millennium's search was oriented always outside us. *

Gowtham, India: We assuredly made great progress, both scientifically and spiritually. As Swami Vivekananda says, each person is going from lower truth to higher truth. Progress, therefore, is part of evolution. We progressed not only in the material world but also in the inner world. *

Guilherme Testa Silva, Brazil: To judge

quantitatively the progress of humanity in the last thousand years is a difficult task, as we find ourselves in the plane of relativity where even the concept of what progress means is relative. Notwithstanding that, we may say that there was struggle, and in nature, no effort goes without a reward. *

Karen Cupeles, West Indies: We have certainly progressed well. This crazy lifestyle is normal. This is the final stage of the cycle, and so our energies are functioning at the fastest rate. Owing to this fast movement, there is mental stress, insanity, depression, etc. In the West, we are taught that *this* is the way of life. We are not taught any method to alleviate stress. *

Losalini Ratugolea, Fiji: Progress is a debatable concept. There has been a lot of progress in technology, resulting in general improvements of people's material lifestyles. Perhaps the greatest effect of technological development has been its contribution to the mobility of people from place to place, country to country. *

Mariano Gabriel Chaheer, Argentina: There has definitely been progress in several areas. Evolutionary process is gradual. Every conquest in the socio-political field was an attempt towards progress. Slavery was not abolished in some countries until the last century: exploitation is still there, but in newer ways. However, these are not signs of retardation; things will change. *

Milen Shah, UK: Let alone past millennium, what can we say about the past century even? I am typing these answers on my laptop computer, in the middle of the night with the background music of a classical Indian CD. Thus, aids to increase sensory input to the mind and technology to comfort the body have become immense. On the intellectual plane, the logic of reasoning has challenged blind dogma, and great individuals such as Swami Vivekananda have emerged as heroes of the millennium. Medicine has progressed, too, so that we can cure diseases better. *

Raghavendra Rao, India: Though we

progressed well in scientific terms, that very progress, unfortunately, became the cause of the downfall of human values and cordial human relationships. ✽

Remadevy, Singapore: One of the objectives of science is the advancement and improvement of the human race. Indeed, the average human life-span has increased and technology has helped us to produce many labour-saving as well as time-saving devices. However, the same technology has also resulted in the production of weapons of mass destruction, the necessity of which is questionable. Poverty is still very much a reality in some nations at least. Our standard of living has improved, but we are now becoming increasingly aware of the environmental effects of our current lifestyles which we have become accustomed to. ✽

Saroj Kumar Nath, Bangladesh: Materially, we have progressed a lot. Our lives have become easier now owing to newer inventions. Human beings are like our Creator to-

day—by cloning, we can make copies of animals! However, this has its own corollaries: we have both animality and spirituality in us. It is for us to choose between them. ✽

Victor Tcherepanov, Russia: I think that while on the one hand our material progress is going on well, on the other we have got many new problems as a result of our progress. For instance, we have learnt to cure many diseases which were incurable in the past; but new diseases, like AIDS, have come into existence now. Therefore the joy of having removed one disease from the face of earth is gone: there is another ready. The same is the case with all other fields. However, I should hasten to add that the social and religious life of humanity has been restored. With the appearance of geniuses in art, poetry, literature, and so on, there is progress in these fields also. Coming to spirituality, great savants have enhanced our spiritual and cultural life, but we are unable to assimilate their teachings. ✽

Mention the most disgusting and most appealing factors of the past millennium.

Aswina Samtani, UK: The most disgusting factors of the past millennium were (a) increasingly selfish and greedy nature of people, (b) ever-growing reliance on money and buying power for happiness and success, (c) increasing fear of death, poverty, war, disease, etc, (d) lack of self-control, leading to physical and mental problems, and (e) destruction of nature by humanity. The appealing features were (a) people's eagerness to learn and question, (b) the invention of such quick and easy methods of transport, communication and information distribution, (c) medical advances, and (d) our increasing awareness of the physical totality in which we live. ✽

Audrius Beinorius, Lithuania: Among the disgusting factors, which are like reaching the bottom of hell, was the unmasking of the beast in the human soul: wars, cruelties, ha-

tred, addictions, etc are examples. The most appealing and promising factor is the sobering comprehension that we are all members of the same worldly community, and deeply interdependent on one another. Perhaps it could be seen as an increase of the sense of responsibility for our common good. ✽

Barnali Das, India: The disgusting factors of the past? Take the case of a new-born. It will not cry. It turns blue! Reason? The sins of our ancestors. O ancestors, please answer me! Why should we take birth here? For suffering ravages of wars? For drug addictions? To witness narrowness? To suffer? To experience neglect of womenfolk? Or for sense-pleasures? What have you gifted us? World wars, nuclear inheritance, criminal pleasure-seeking. Can you allot us some place where there is no proxy war? There were some appealing factors, all right. The new-born,

which turned blue will be rescued by a young monk, who says, 'Be unattached! Work for work's sake. Widen your horizons.' The humane message of Swami Vivekananda to bring the world together was the most appealing factor of the past. *

Beryl Hagenburg, USA: Some races of the world may have travelled far distances, but certain others—notably the indigenous peoples—have journeyed deep into themselves. Their explorations have been internal, into the human psyche and mind. The terrain discovered by the ancient sages of the world is also boundless and infinite. The destructive nature of Western exploration has unfortunately depleted much of this indigenous knowledge. The prime example is the tragedy of extinction facing Native Americans at the hands of the modern West. However, through its conquests, the West has met face to face with opposition fuelled by insights attained through the internal explorations of the ancients. The nonviolent resistance waged by Mahatma Gandhi in India against British imperialism not only challenged the Western philosophy of 'conquer and divide' but also left its mark for future movements. Martin Luther King, Jr was greatly influenced by Gandhi in the 1960s' civil rights campaign against the discrimination of Afro-Americans. Today we witness the Dalai Lama non-violently opposing Communist China's occupation of Tibet. Tibetan ideology, stemming from the Buddhist teachings of India, has spread worldwide because of this interaction between modern China and ancient Tibet. *

Dana Sugu, Romania: The most disgusting thing of the past was the move to separate races, people, and countries in the name of God. Ironically, God is the link between everything that exists and is the only underlying Reality. The Crusades in the early centuries, the Second World War, the present problems in Europe go to show that separation in the name of God still continues. However, the most appealing fact is increasing awareness of the Indian idea of unity in diver-

sity, the principle of oneness, that Vedanta teaches. Through this, people come to know that there is none to hate because everything is just One. *

Gowtham, India: The appealing factors of the past millennium were these: (a) life became easy; (b) communication became fast and easy; (c) religion became easy owing to the teachings of great saints and philosophers; (d) we started thinking about our own mind, leading to the psychological sciences; (e) ignorance and superstition have subsided. The disgusting factors were these: (a) the advent of science had its own repercussions—it harmed as much as it helped us; (b) the two World Wars have left a devastating effect; (c) world population has increased enormously, leading to impoverishment. *

Guilherme Testa Silva, Brazil: The disgusting factor is that unfortunately, our efforts were not always directed towards the true objective, ie, the realization of our real nature. There is a parable of Ramakrishna about a man walking on water. There were two brothers. One left home and became a Sannyasin. After twelve years he came to see his birthplace. His younger brother asked him as to what he had achieved after such a long time. 'Come and see,' said the elder and walked over the water of a river to the other side. The younger brother gave a ferryman a penny and crossed the river simultaneously. Then he said, 'Dear brother! After all, you undertook severe austerities for twelve years just to acquire a power which is worth only a penny?' However, on the positive side, the history of humankind offers wonderful examples of impersonality and egolessness: men and women of every calling sacrificed their lives on the altar of service. *

Karen Cupeles, West Indies: The most appealing factor is technology's wondrous unifying strength. It is owing to technology that I had the opportunity of learning from the experiences of other races besides that of the West. But the most disgusting factor of the past millennium was the materialistic phi-

losophy of life. All of us became mere machines. To flow with the current means to dive into the gorge of materialism. *

Losalini Ratugolea, Fiji: Technological development, which has led to great mobility—physically and ideologically—can be linked to the horrific events of the past, like wars, genocides, massacres. We must not, however, allow this depressing scenario to supersede the wonderful realms of life that opened up during the last millennium with the ability of people to travel far. As a result, the world began the process of living and moving forward. *

Mariano Gabriel Chaher, Argentina: Of the disgusting factors were the numerous wars, behind which was economic interest, the desire to evangelize (as the Americans had while conquering our Indian people here) and so on, apart from the bellicose nature of man. As a positive factor, we may mention that in spite of the inhuman paths along which humanity has travelled since the beginning of history, these very differences appear as unavoidable obstacles humanity has to overcome on its way to unity. *

Milen Shah, UK: One of the most appealing things was progress in science and technology. The irony is that this has been disgustingly misused. Some of the greatest technological wonders are being used to destroying life or wasting people's time and energy—I mean television, loud music, computer games, etc. These are driving families apart. Despite the coming of great saints, how many have had the courage to walk the path to eternal Truth which they have shown us? Even in present times of rationality, dogma rules over the minds of people—most of all in the West—controlled by the advertising industry and media. Despite development in physical medicine, new illnesses emerge, often with psychological components due to undesirable lifestyles. *

Raghavendra Rao, India: For me, the most disgusting factor was the bombing of Japan, which took away thousands of innocent lives. The most appealing factor was the advent of Holy Mother Sri Sarada Devi. *

Remadevy, Singapore: Technological advance has resulted in our increased awareness of the events of the world. The world can now be considered a 'global village' where no nation is totally isolated. Satellite television and the Internet have brought us closer to one another. Economies of nations too are interdependent. Formation of trade blocs such as ASEAN and APEC has led to greater cooperation between nations. In spite of all these developments, violence is still around. Violent crimes are committed by those whose lives science has helped to improve. Technology is also available at their disposal for the committing of such crimes. Money is being spent for the purchase of weapons of mass destruction, when it could have been used to fight poverty instead. Greed and unselfishness remain the root causes for all these problems. *

Saroj Kumar Nath, Bangladesh: As for me, the most appealing factor of the past millennium was expansion of knowledge. The disgusting factor is 'civilization' trying to reach outer space, leaving behind millions upon millions unfed on earth. *

Victor Tcherepanov, Russia: Amongst the appealing factors was scientific progress. With aeroplane, radio, TV, telephone, computers, etc, the world has become very small. We have access to any place in the world in moments. But the disgusting factor is, have all these made us happier, more tranquil, more peaceful and more satisfied? Not at all! The reason is, we have been searching for peace and satisfaction only in the external world, namely, in the senses. But such satisfaction is shortlived. *

What are your ideas about the new millennium? How would you wish it to be, so that we all can live in peace and happiness?

Aswina Samtani, UK: These are my ideas for the future: Spiritual information has to be made more and more accessible and digestible. Such information has to be included in the educational curriculum. Community spirit should be developed amongst various peoples. It would be truly great if the whole world could come together simultaneously and experience a few moments of peace and bliss. *

Audrius Beinorius, Lithuania: At the social level, peace and happiness can be attained by performing our duties consciously, or speaking in Indian terms, by expressing ourselves totally through *svadharma*, which depends on human capacities and gifts. However, real peace and happiness is only the unconditional state of a pure mind. The more people will reach this pure state of mind, the happier will society become. The feeling of oneness (*tad ekam sarvam viśvam* etc) is of paramount importance. All humanity is one. *

Barnali Das, India: About the new millennium, I am hopeful. The fuel of inspiration from great souls is there in abundance. We should use that for our good. The flow of life of the new millennium should be towards purity, peace and happiness. Onward for ever! If we remember every moment that our lives belong to the One, can we ever be unsafe? A strict moral life leads us towards the unfoldment of inner spiritual potential. This will lead to love, peace and harmony. *

Beryl Hagenburg, USA: In the future, humans will most probably continue to explore reality in search of a self-fulfilled orientation within it. The external exploration of the modern West and the internal quest of the indigenous religions can aid and complement one another in this search. *

Dana Sugu, Romania: The new millennium cannot bring peace and happiness unless we reach the state of going beyond the

dual states of mind, of likes and dislikes. This, of course, is individual; but letting people know about such ideas is vital. *

Gowtham, India: I want the next millennium to be what people say about a Golden Era, the *Rama Rajya*. We all must live like brothers and sisters, and children of Mother Earth. Let there be more scientific progress; but let us live in harmony and see that fanaticism, bigotry, etc vanish from the face of the earth. *

Guilherme Testa Silva, Brazil: It was stated that the past millennium was one of revolutions. We hope that in this new millennium, humanity will abandon these revolutions in favour of evolution: a self-conscious evolution that will have no guinea pigs and victims. *

Karen Cupeles, West Indies: I feel that with this new millennium, nothing will change for good if we don't look for newer solutions to problems. We should turn to India for these solutions now and Swami Vivekananda's message can provide it, I feel. I wish that every human being should be motivated at least a little bit to look *inside* oneself. Then we shall understand the significance of Holy Mother Sarada Devi's message: 'No one is a stranger, my child; the whole world is your own.' *

Losalini Ratugolea, Fiji: I often have discussions with other young people about the future: where we are going, where our work is leading us, and what this new millennium holds in store for the human race. We often joke about eating plastic, sending robots to do the shopping, etc. We also talk about how the world seems to be moving towards universality, one culture, one language, one overriding way of life—a complete antithesis of cultural identity preservation. In this millennium, people can come closer and exist by and large under a mono-culture. *

Mariano Gabriel Chaher, Argentina: There have been many great discoveries. In genetics the progress does not seem to have any limit. Communications and computer technology have enjoyed unthinkable advances. But, are we happier? As Indian philosophy calls it, the world is maya, and doubts about the future are needed for creation to continue. Yet, I feel that the world is going through a period in which people are coming closer to spirituality. *

Milen Shah, UK: Who can predict the future? But, I hope that people will look back to hear the words of great saints, who have come with nothing but unconditional love. It is so important that our children are brought up well, for *they* are the next millennium. In my opinion, parents have the most important responsibility: children imbibe parents' qualities. From a very young age, if they are taught about love for nature, development of inner strength, and the spirit of service, the next millennium will be a happy one. *

Raghavendra Rao, India: About the new millennium, I feel that the time has come for us to understand that a merely scientific, technological, materialistic lifestyle will not give peace and happiness. So, I wish all of us should honour this truth. Scientific, technical progress with the touch of human values is what leads to peaceful co-existence. *

Remadevy, Singapore: Perhaps science does not have all the answers. There is cer-

tainly no turning back now. It is certainly not possible to go back to our past ways of living. We are often reminded of the powerful forces of nature, when we hear of a tornado or cyclone striking a country and causing great devastation. We are forced to admit humbly that we cannot win all the battles. However, now that various time-saving devices have given us time on our hands, it is time we started to think. *

Saroj Kumar Nath, Bangladesh: It is the natural course of events that humans will progress. But is such progress also possible in their inner lives? The thirst for success, feelings of helplessness, pain at loss and disappointment—all will remain. Yet, we shall have to continue our march. Therefore, what I wish is that people should understand their limitations. There is a terminus—death—and this has to be always borne in mind. *

Victor Tcherpanov, Russia: Humanity will undoubtedly carry on with its urge for newer discoveries and newer inventions. There will be greater wonders in the new millennium. But I think all these will be in vain if humanity does not turn its attention from external happiness to internal happiness. Modern science is studying external nature. But in future, slowly it will turn towards spirituality, and I hope that in the new millennium scientists of religion and science will jointly solve many unsolved riddles of humanity. *

Do you have any suggestions for the youth of the future?

Aswina Samtani, UK: The youth of the future have a great opportunity to consolidate the developments of the last millennium, that is, they should learn from past mistakes. They should grow both externally as well as internally. The best piece of advice has been given by a great spiritual master, which I repeat: 'From home to home, take a close and honest look at yourself. It pays.' *

Audrius Beinorius, Lithuania: About the

youth of the future, I think their situation depends on us, because very often attitudes and values of the new generation is activated or reacted to by the deeds and ideals of elders. I totally trust the young and believe in their sense of distinguishing between good and bad. My only suggestion to future youth is this: 'Be enthusiastic, study with zest, have no prejudice and fear, humbly accept everything that life, this great teacher, grants you.' *

Barnali Das, India: To the youth of the future, I would say, 'Many a time, we do not know what we are. We are walking lanterns—the flame of divinity is aglow inside us; let us know that. Let us march past the lure of material gain. Acquire positive education, and perform such work as will rouse your spiritual potential. Emotional Quotient (EQ) and Intelligence Quotient (IQ) must go hand in hand. *Mābhāih, mābhāih*, be fearless! Courage should be the motto for our journey forward.' ✽

Dana Sugu, Romania: My suggestions to the future youth: 'Learn from the mistakes of your earlier generations and try not to repeat the same mistakes. Don't consider tradition to be an obstacle to progress, but it has to be revitalized to suit modern situations. Open your ears to listen, not just hear; feel, not just think; and try to go beyond the mind, as it is too limited to understand truths.' An open-minded young generation without preconceptions has to emerge to be able to understand the real necessity of accepting and respecting other's points of view, in order to exchange the cultural heritage of each one of us. ✽

Gowtham, India: My suggestion to the future youth is: 'Do not lose interest in a value-oriented life.' I think values will protect us from disasters. Secondly, I would suggest, 'Be original in thinking and in your ways of doing work.' Thirdly, 'Life is not a joke; please don't neglect it.' ✽

Guilherme Testa Silva, Brazil: To the youth of the future, I repeat what Swami Vivekananda said, 'Awake, arise, and stop not till the goal is reached!' This same goal towards which humanity is unconsciously striving, and deriving suffering therefrom, Swami Vivekananda asked us to search consciously. He wanted us to stand on our own feet and manifest the divinity within us. ✽

Karen Cupeles, West Indies: My suggestions to youth is to follow my answers to the earlier questions. Look upon everyone as brother and sister. Materialism will only lead

you to hell. Think higher thoughts and develop internally. ✽

Losalini Ratugolea, Fiji: Young people, especially those in traditional societies like Fiji, need to make wise choices about their lives. Can they hold on to their cultural values and also embrace others' lifestyles? Or should people, in the oneness of humankind, discard things that differentiate them from others? ✽

Mariano Gabriel Chaher, Argentina: I think young people should cling to their convictions and must not feel tied down to other people's opinions. Always obeying the demands of society will make us lose our authenticity. The world is becoming more and more competitive and we should be sufficiently prepared with the necessary tools. We should grow interest in spiritual life. Enjoy life as much as possible as almost everybody has to have some experiences. Slowly we will understand that peace and happiness are inside us. ✽

Milen Shah, UK: To the young people of the future, I would say, 'This is the time when you have healthy bodies, lots of energy and dynamism. Use this period well in finding your goals in life, the short-term goal being good education and the long-term goal being the choice of a path where you can be of service to the world. The ultimate goal for you will be your own progress along the path to self-perfection.' ✽

Raghavendra Rao, India: To the young people of the future, I suggest that they should honour and respect their respective cultural and moral values. Hard work and honesty should be cultivated. Finally, the most important advice to students is that for all their problems, the solution is in the life and teachings of Swami Vivekananda. ✽

Remadevy, Singapore: Maybe we should all re-examine our lives and decide what we really want in life. What are we actually seeking? ✽

Saroj Kumar Nath, Bangladesh: To future youth I would suggest only one thing, and that in Swami Vivekananda's words: 'De-

luded is he who happiness seeks/ Lunatic he who misery wishes/ Insane he too who fondly longs for death/ Immortality—vain aspiration!' ✧

Victor Tcherepanov, Russia: My wish

and suggestion to the youth is that they should search for the highest Unity, the eternal Truth, and real spirituality. I think this alone will bring peace, happiness and prosperity to their lives. ✧

In spite of all the scientific progress, do you think the world has to become more religious and spiritual in order to survive in future?

Aswina Samtani, UK: If the world bases progress only on science, then sure enough the world's resources will be fast depleted and human beings will only destroy themselves. Spirituality needs to play a part in creating equilibrium and understanding. Religion, with its history of political and racial bias, may not be so beneficial in inciting progress, though once a spiritual balance has been created, religion can add discipline and guidance. Science and religion must settle down their differences in future so as to cater to man's intellectual and spiritual needs. This will lead to peace and happiness. ☆

Audrius Beinorius, Lithuania: First of all, I would like to say that there exists a difference between religiosity and spirituality. To be religious always does not mean being spiritual. Actually, so many wars, killings and suffering go on in the name of God and religion. Religion becomes a formal, rigid system of ways of thinking and living. At the same time, scientific progress does not always hinder blossoming of the fragile flower of spirituality. The essence of spirituality, I think, is the awareness and manifestation of our divine nature. So, it seems to me that in order to survive in the future, *we should become less religious and more spiritual*. We should become more sincere, compassionate without regard to differences, and full of goodwill. The only solution to improve our future is to develop our inner culture. ☆

Barnali Das, India: The world should of course become religious and spiritual in order to survive. Let us envision a confluence of science and religion—science should take care of the physical needs while religion of the

moral and spiritual needs. Through a combination of the two, we should fight poverty. Self-realization alone guides the 'children of immortal bliss' of the future to bring about a peaceful world. ☆

Beryl Hagenburg, USA: Modern exploration and technology ensure the interaction of peoples and ideologies, while the world's religions provide internal paths for directly experiencing the infinite Reality encompassing us. Though the West has moved outward and witnessed the environment in its connected, boundless state, we have not found peace. On the contrary, we see peace and selflessness driving and engulfing the social actions of historical figures like Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr and the Dalai Lama. If the modern world uses its technology and far-spreading reach to save, cherish, and learn from the world's ancient religious teachings, perhaps conquering and dividing will lose out to peace and harmony. ☆

Dana Sugu, Romania: Scientific progress itself turns out to be an important factor in peoples' becoming more interested in religion and spirituality, because science itself has proved its inability to solve complex problems of the human mind. A more spiritual society will definitely face future situations easily due to spiritual qualities such as self-confidence, patience, boldness, detachment, etc. Religion may be considered the outer cover of spirituality. Religion is collective, spirituality is individual, and so once people are able to remove the cover of dogma, their spirituality will burst forth. So, to take the full benefit of future scientific progress, people should become more spiritual; other-

wise, progress can turn out to be our enemy, leading us to self-destruction. ☆

Gowtham, India: I think we should become more religious in future. Religion and spirituality are the very foundations of society. Recent scientific trends seem to neglect the very basics of life. Without proper understanding of our inner life, outer development will lead to destruction and degradation. Religion and spirituality will make us unselfish and this will help us lend support for the good of humanity. ☆

Guilherme Testa Silva, Brazil: The manifestation of divinity or religion in practice has as a consequence material and scientific development. This development, as an expression of the true religion, which is nothing but pure and impersonal love, would make the science of the future invariably turned towards the well-being of every living being. ☆

Karen Cupeles, West Indies: Yes, definitely; spirituality is our real nature and we have been walking away from it till now. To have peace, we shall have to go back to the source. ☆

Losalini Ratugolea, Fiji: My own perceptions of this question has been heavily influenced by Swami Vivekananda's teachings. Vivekananda's challenge to the world of our 'oneness' is something that goes right into the essence of one's self. That is why, in Fiji, I am happy to note the formation of a multi-religious group called Interfaith Search. It is common argument that the new millennium will pose a serious challenge to spiritual and religious values, that the increasing pre-occupation with materialism and individualism will enhance moral decay in our lives. I think that the new era will be the most exciting for religious pursuits. There are now greater opportunities for self-actualization—books, media, and other avenues. Let us decide to make this millennium the end of spiritual evolution when all people on earth will make peace with themselves, with each other, and with God. ☆

Mariano Gabriel Chaher, Argentina: I feel that human beings may turn more and more towards spirituality and religion in future in spite of all the scientific progress. This is because we still have the same problems and weaknesses people had centuries ago, in spite of all the development. ☆

Milen Shah, UK: Not in spite of but because of this tremendous scientific progress, spirituality must increase. Otherwise humanity will have no moral or ethical direction in life. It will only have very powerful technology at its fingertips, which could be a curse rather than a blessing. Hence the need of spiritual insight. Religion is not a necessity, I feel. In fact, it often breeds fanaticism. But true religion, with spirituality as its backbone, will present eternal truths in a palatable way. ☆

Raghavendra Rao, India: In future, we should be religious. But we should understand the real meaning of religion: 'Doing good to others is real religion.' ☆

Remadevy, Singapore: In the next millennium, I believe, religion will start playing a larger role with more people looking to it for answers. Religion, too, must be ready with the answers. More and more people, I believe, will begin to realize that science no longer provides the answer to this question: What is the meaning and purpose of our lives? The search for peace and happiness is a universal one, one that we have tried to find through the fulfilment of our material needs. Still, the feeling of incompleteness continues to be with us—the same incompleteness, perhaps, we felt when we were lacking in material comforts. Indeed, the increase in material comforts did not remove that feeling from us. I do not expect the journey towards peace and happiness to be a smooth and easy one. However, there is already an increasing awareness of the need for inculcating values in people. This, however, cannot be forced but it involves making people aware that the adoption of such values will result in a more tolerable and harmonious society, which will cer-

tainly make our home, the planet earth, a better place to live in. ☆

Saroj Kumar Nath, Bangladesh: 'Spirituality' and 'religion' have different connotations. I do not agree with the view that the world has to be more spiritual and religious to be happy, if by these two terms only something 'divine' is meant. But if these words mean progress of the mind, then the world has to be more spiritual in order to be happy. But, I like the world to be more spiritual and not more religious. ☆

Victor Tcherepanov, Russia: I hope that

during the next millennium there will be more unity because we tend more and more towards spirituality. Therefore the world has to become more spiritual; otherwise it will not be able to solve its problems, and humanity may soon disappear from the face of the earth if things go on in this way. Finally, as all of us have entered the new millennium with great hope and a sincere yearning for mutual understanding, mutual acceptance, unity and oneness, let us fervently wish that we shall achieve the end. ☆

Therefore, my friends, my plan is to start institutions to train our young men as preachers of the truths of our scriptures, in India and outside India. Men, men, these are wanted: everything else will be ready, but strong, vigorous, believing young men, sincere to the backbone, are wanted. A hundred such and the world becomes revolutionised. ... You have been told and taught that you can do nothing, and non-entities you are becoming every day. What we want is strength, so believe in yourselves. We have become weak, and that is why occultism and mysticism come to us—these creepy things; there may be great truths in them, but they have nearly destroyed us. Make your nerves strong. What we want is muscles of iron and nerves of steel. We have wept long enough. No more weeping but stand on your feet and be men. It is a man-making religion that we want. It is man-making education all round that we want. And here is the test of truth—everything that makes you weak physically, intellectually and spiritually—reject them as poison, there is no life in it, it cannot be true. Truth is strengthening. Truth is purity, truth is all-knowledge; truth must be strengthening, must be enlightening, must be invigorating. I cannot see you degraded, weakened any more than you are now. Therefore I am bound for your sake and for truth's sake to cry, 'Hold!' and to raise my voice against this degradation of my race.

Three things are necessary for great achievements. First, feel from the heart. What is in the intellect or reason? It goes a few steps and there it stops. But through the heart comes inspiration. Feel, therefore, my would-be reformers, my would-be patriots! You may feel, then; but...have you found any way out, any practical solution...? Yet that is not all. Have you got the will to surmount mountain-high obstructions? If the whole world stands against you sword in hand, would you still dare to do what you think is right? If your wives and children are against you, if all your money goes, your name dies, your wealth vanishes, would you still stick to it? Have you got that steadfastness? If you have these three things, each one of you will work miracles.

—Swami Vivekananda

Hinduism During the Previous Millennium

DR SATISH K. KAPOOR

Dr Satish K. Kapoor, who teaches in the postgraduate department of history at Lyallpur Khalsa College, Jalandhar, is well-known for his scholarly papers to various reputed journals. Presently engaged in coediting the 18-volume Encyclopedia of Hinduism, Dr Kapoor was formerly a British Council scholar in history at the University of London. Of his works, Cultural Contact and Fusion: Swami Vivekananda in the West is important. We thank Dr Kapoor for a splendid, comprehensive and complete study of the past 1000 years of Hinduism. Health setbacks during the writing notwithstanding, the author was at great pains to see that the article reached us on time.

Hinduism as *satya sanātana dharma* defies the orbit of time as it has its roots in eternal values and ideals. But Hinduism as a hoary, vibrant and living tradition has grown and evolved undergoing periods of trials and tribulations, decline and degeneration, revival and reform, and of renewal and regeneration, each face marked by an existential disposition to survive, to endure and to reassert in the face of political subjugation, religious persecution, social strain and new ideas. The assimilative, adjustive and absorptive character of Hinduism provided a bulwark against the acculturative forces spearheaded by the Greeks, the Parthians, the Śakas, the Hūnas and the Yue-Chis, all of whom gradually mingled with the socio-cultural mainstream of India. But during the second millennium of the Christian era, it could not mollify the Muslim invaders beginning with the Turks of Central Asia who plundered, proselytized, slayed or enslaved the natives, desecrated or destroyed their places of worship as also the most sacred relics of their civilization, and heaped indignities on them in the name of Islam.¹ Unlike the Arab Muslim conquerors

of Sind (CE 712) who followed a somewhat liberal religious policy, socialized with non-Muslim communities and translated the Hindu works on astronomy, medicine and mathematics into Arabic, the hardy Turks were strong and adamant in their beliefs and convictions, fiery in action and impervious to the alien patterns and modes of life.² Within a short span of time the Hindu community in the Gangetic plain was reduced to 'a cultural proletariat' (to use Nirad C. Chaudhuri's expression),³ a fact vouchsafed by Albīrūnī (CE 973-1048) who accompanied the first prominent Turkish invader Mahmūd Ghaznī (CE 997-1030) to India and witnessed the sack of Mathurā, Somnāth and other places during his seventeen invasions. To quote him: '...the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people.'⁴ The Delhi Sultāns (1206-1526) were equally harsh on the Hindus whom they called infidels (*kāfirs*). Amīr Khusraw, who enjoyed the patronage of the

1. For an early study of differences between Hindus and Muslims in matters of religion and social institutions, see *Albīrūnī's India*, ed. Edward S. Sachau (Delhi, 1964), pp. 17-23.

2. See Amaury de Reincourt, *The Soul of India* (New Delhi, 1986), pp. 158-9; P.N. Chopra, B.N. Puri and M.N. Das, *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India* (Delhi, 1974), Vol. 1, pp. 28-9.

3. *Hinduism* (New Delhi, 1979), p. 127.

4. Edward S. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 22.



Sri Rama

Sultāns from Balban to Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Tughluq, composed a verse which stated inter alia: 'Thanks to the sword of our holy warriors...the strong among the Hindus have been trodden underfoot, and are constrained to pay tribute.... Islam became triumphant so gloriously and leaders of *kufr* (Hinduism) suffered the scourge of Islam so ignominiously that, had not the *sharī'a* granted exemption from death by payment of *jizya* the very name of the Hindu would have been extinct root and branch.'⁵

Fall of Vijayanagara Empire

When Tīmūr (1336-1405), the Amīr of Samarqand, invaded India in 1398 he slaughtered one hundred thousand Hindus on a single day at the very gates of Delhi. He returned to his homeland with a huge booty of precious metals and stones, and with seasoned artisans and craftsmen who would enrich Central Asian art in times to come. While his expedition provided a death-blow to the Tughluq empire (1320-1414), thereby shaking the foundation of the Delhi Sultānate, it paved the way for the future invasion of India by Bābar (1526-30), the first Mughal emperor, who claimed descent on the father's side from the Tīmūr family. In the far south, the battle

of Tālikoṭa (1565) led to the collapse of the last Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, known for its wealth and beauty. Its beauty and grandeur had elicited praise from foreign travellers like Nicolo Conti (1420), 'Abdu'r-Razzāq (1443), Paes (1522) and Nuniz (1535). But the city was dismantled by the combined armies of the Muslim Sultāns of Bijāpūr, Golkonḍa, Ahmadnagar and Bīdar. It needs to be mentioned that the Vijayanagara rulers were great patrons of Sanskrit learning. Sāyaṇa (d. 1387), the famous Vedic exegete, enjoyed the rank of minister in the court of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II (1377-1404).

Hindu Society in Hibernation

With the loss of political power, the Hindus forfeited their right to state patronage of their arts and crafts, their language Sanskrit (*devavāṇī*), and the ancient seats of brahminical learning like Nālandā, Vikramaśīla, Takṣaśīlā, Ujjayinī and Kāśī, which were destroyed in due course of time. Hence, during the first quarter of the millennium, Hindu society remained virtually in a state of hibernation. It took to the path of exclusion and seclusion by tightening the caste system, forbidding intercommunity marriages and ostracizing those who partook of unholy food and intermingled with foreigners (*mlecchas*).⁶



Sri Krishna

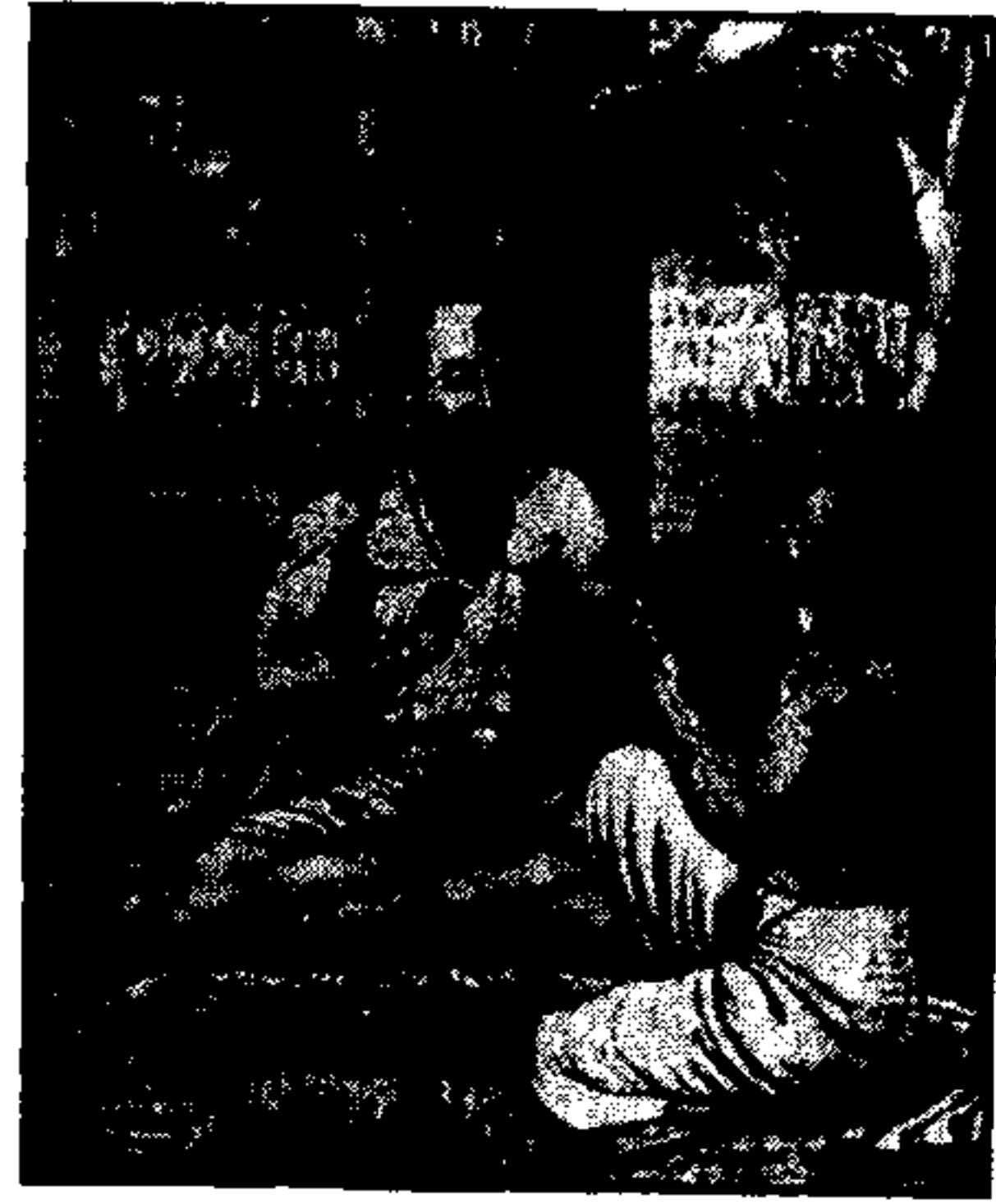
5. Cited in Harsh Narain, *Myths of Composite Culture and Equality of Religions* (New Delhi, 1991), p. 16.

6. Edward S. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20.

The heinous practices of *satī* and *jauhar* among women were the direst consequences of Muslim invasions and conquests. To safeguard their dignity and honour Hindu women burnt themselves to death on the funeral pyres of their husbands (*satī*) or entered a bonfire one by one when the defeat of their menfolk in battle was certain (*jauhar*). Mahārāṇī Padminī, for example, committed *jauhar* along with scores of Rājput women when the Khaljī Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn attacked Chitor and finally captured it on 26 August 1303.⁷ The introduction of the customs of child marriage and *pardā* (veil) was also aimed at safeguarding Hindu women from the covetous eyes of the invaders.

Muslim Understanding of Hinduism: Positive Overtones

The Muslim understanding of Hinduism was enriched by the writings or translations of the Hindu sacred texts into Persian and Arabic by Albīrūnī, Amīr Khusraw (d. 1325), Khwājā Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Nakshābī (d. 1350), Abu'l-Fazl (d. 1602) and Dārā Shukoh (1615-59) among others. In *Tahqīq ma li'l-Hind*, completed in about CE 1030, Albīrūnī gives a comprehensive account of religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws and astrology of India. Although he found fault with Hindu metaphysics—its doctrine of the soul and of divine love which could be juxtaposed with those of the Sūfis—he praised the brahmins for their vast erudition and originality of approach, a fact later corroborated by Amīr Khusraw. In *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (Book III) Abu'l-Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, expatiated on Hinduism in a sympathetic manner and beseeched Muslim readers to study his work with an unprejudiced mind. He wrote the preface to the Persian version of the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata* and monitored the translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* through the auspices of the *Maktab Khāna*. Khwājā Nakshābī rendered into Persian *Cintāmaṇi*



Samarth Ramdas instructing Shivaji

Bhaṭṭa's moralistic work *Śuka Saptati* under the title *Tūtī-nāma* (*Stories from a Parrot*). *Tūtī-nāma*, containing 70 stories, continues to be read with much interest in the Middle Eastern countries even today. Dārā Shukoh, son of Emperor Shāhjahān (1628-58), was an admirer of Hindu philosophy and mysticism. He translated the Upanishads into Persian,⁸ which were later rendered into Latin (1801-2) by Anquetil-Duperron and thus came to the notice of the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), who found in them the solace of his life and death. In *Majma'u'l-bahryn* (*Mingling of Two Oceans*) he pleaded for religious understanding between Hindus and Muslims.

The Muslim emperors who sponsored and commissioned the translation of Sanskrit works into Persian did so either out of curiosity or interest, as in the case of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), or with a view to providing an intellectual dimension to proselytism by finding fault with the works of infidels, as in the case of Firūz Shāh Tughluq (1351-88) who took forcible possession of 1300 rare manuscripts from the Jvālāmukhī shrine, Nagarkot, and got many of them translated under the title *Dalā'il-i Firūz Shāhī*. As Sanskrit lost its virility vis-a-vis Persian, Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangīnī* (12th century) being the only historical treatise written during the period of

7. James Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (New Delhi, 1971), Vol. 1, p. 215.

8. S.A.A. Rizwi, *The Wonder that was India* (New Delhi, 1994), Vol. 2, pp. 250-5.

the Delhi Sultāns, the Indo-Aryan dialects such as Avadhī, Rājasthānī, Kaśmīrī, Sindhī, Panjābī, Gujarātī, Bhojpurī, Māgadhi and Maithilī acquired new meanings and forms. Later, Akbar promoted Hindī, a language in which Chānd Bardāi (1125-92), court poet of Prthvirāj Chauhān of Delhi, had written *Prthvirāj Rāso*. Amir Khusraw penned some of his poems, and Vaiṣṇava saints composed their devotional songs. Among the courtiers of Akbar who had a flair for writing in Hindī (Śaurasenī and Braj-bhāṣā in its earlier form) were Birbal, Rājā Mān Singh and 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān (1535-1627). The last among them is well-known for his perceptive writings *Dohāvalī* or *Sat-sāi*, *Barvai Nayika Bhad* and *Śṛṅgāra Sorathā*. Malik Muhammad Jā'isī's epic, *Padmāvat*, in Hindī was composed about 1540 during the time of Humāyūn, Akbar's father.

Akbar's liberal religious policy marked by non-proselytization, abolition of *jizya* and pilgrim tax on the Hindus, appointment of Hindus to high government posts, his matrimonial alliance with Hindu women, participation in Hindu festivals and his habit of drinking only the water of the holy Gangā, was reversed with a vengeance by his great-grandson Aurangzib (1659-1707).

Convergence of Hindu-Muslim Traditions

Despite the hostile approach of Muslim rulers towards the religion and culture of the natives of India, with notable exceptions like Zaynu'l-Ābidīn (1420-70) of Kashmir and 'Alā'u'dīn Husayn Shāh (1493-1519) of Bengal, a subterranean fusion between the cultural traditions of Hinduism and Islam took shape during the first half of the millennium in matters of social customs and etiquette, language and literature, art and architecture, painting and music, and in religious beliefs, paving the way for the birth of a composite culture. Converts from Hinduism to Islam adhered to the old social practices and ways of living, thus influencing Muslim society at certain levels. The simplicity, sincerity and tenderness of Hindu women in Muslim harems



Dara Shukoh with Miyan Mir

mellowed the stern demeanour of chieftains.

The Bhakti and Sūfī movements in Hinduism and Islam respectively, which started towards the beginning of the millennium (without in any way denying their antecedents in an earlier period) and consummated in the 15th and 16th centuries, cross-fertilized to produce unireligious belief patterns acceptable to a vast majority of Hindus and Muslims. This happened despite the opposition of Sūfī *silsilas* (orders) like the Naqshbandiyya which ordained Muslims to shun the infidels like dogs.⁹

The Sūfī *silsilas* of India which believed in the concept of *Wahdat al-Wazūd* or the unity of Being, appreciated and even borrowed Hindu mystical ideas and practices. This made them different from the Sūfīs of the Islamic lands whose approach to religion was marked by insularity. The Hindu monastic tradition was reflected in a *khānqāh* where a *pīr* or *shaykh* resided—he accepted offerings, blessed the *murīds* (disciples) and visitors, and performed religious duties. The worship rites at the tombs of *pīrs* were quite similar to the worship of consecrated objects in a temple.

9. Ibid., p. 269.

Some Indian Sūfis took to the Hindu ascetic practice of self-purification; the scholastic among them learnt Sanskrit and discovered a dynamic conception of life in the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the Vedānta philosophy. Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān (1702-81) of the Mujaddid Sūfi *silila* regarded the Vedas as the Word of God which contained a monotheistic doctrine. He recognized the divinity of Lord Rāma and Lord Kṛṣṇa and thereby roused the ire of the orthodox.

The translation of the *Amṛtakunḍa*, a Yoga manual of the Nātha sect, into Arabic and Persian in early 13th century enriched the Sūfi practices for controlling the human mind, senses and passions, and for the spiritual efflorescence of a *murīd*. *Amṛtakunḍa* was rechristened *Ādya-Paricaya* (1498-9) in Bengali by the Sūfi poet Shaykh Zāhid. Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliā' (d. 1325), a famous saint of the Chishtiyya *silila*, was enamoured of the therapeutic and mystical value of Yoga, more specifically, its ethical precepts, its theory of eugenics and its esoteric division of the human body into the domains of Śiva and Śakti. The Chishtiyya and Suhrawardī *sililas* adopted *āsana* (right posture) and *prāṇāyāma* (the art of breathing), two important limbs of *aṣṭāṅga yoga* into their spiritual practices. They also came to use Hindu devotional songs of the Vaiṣṇavas for rousing their congregations to religious ecstasy; the reason given by the Sūfis, Giāū Darāz and Mīr 'Abdu'l-Wāhid, was that these were more effective than the Persian verses. When a Sūfi exclaimed 'Hama Ūst' ('All is He') or 'Ana-'l Haqq' ('I am the Truth/God') he echoed the famous Upanishadic aphorisms, 'Ahaṁ brahmāsmi' ('I am God/Reality'), 'Ekam-eva-adviṭīyam' ('One and no other') and 'Sarvaṁ khalvidaṁ brahma' ('All this is verily Brahman').

Many Sūfi works like the *Jawāhir-i khamṣa* by the Shattāriyya Sūfi Shaykh Ghaws (d.



Lalla Yogeswari

1563), the *Rushd-nāma*, a collection of Hindī verses by the Chishtiyya Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Quddūs Gangshī (d. 1537) and the *Yoga-Qalandar* of Sayyid Murtazā (d. 1662) reflect the influence of one or another Hindu school of philosophy. The verses of Shaykh Nūru'd-Dīn (d. 1439) of Kashmir closely resemble the prayerful songs of the Śaivaite woman saint of Kashmir, Lalla Yogesvarī, who lived in the 14th century. Like Lalla Yogesvarī, Shaykh emphasized inner experience of the supreme Reality over religious formalism. He was a committed vegetarian and preferred to be addressed as *ṛṣi*.¹⁰

Shāh Karīm (c. 1600), who introduced Sūfism into Sind (now in Pakistan), was turned on the path of mysticism by a Gujarātī Vaiṣṇava saint. He chanted the mystic syllable *Om* with religious fervour and goaded his disciples to use its primal vibrations to achieve concentration (*ekāgratā*). Other Sūfi saints of Sind like Shāh 'Ināyat, Shāh Latīf, Muḥammad Husayn (Bekas), Rohal and Qutub derived inspiration from Hindu philosophy and helped in bridging the gulf between Hindus and Muslims.¹¹

Growth of Hindu Philosophy

Although there is a separate article in this number on Indian philosophy, we wish to mention a few things here. The six orthodox schools of Indian philosophy (*ṣaḍ-darśanas*)—Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta—founded by differ-

10. Ibid., pp. 255-8.

11. Cf. S.L. Gajvani, *Sindhi Sufi Literature in Independent India* (Delhi, 1998).

ent sages in the pre-Christian era were the subject of erudite commentaries or ancillary writings during the millennium. In the *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* (c. 1380), Mādhavācārya coalesced them along with the philosophical precepts of the Buddhists, Jainas, Cārvākas and other sectarian orders in such a manner as to culminate in the Vedānta. The fact that the *śaḍ-darśanas* supplemented and complemented one another was recognized by Vi-jñānabhikṣu of the Sāṁkhya school in the *Sāṁkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, an Advaita Vedāntist, in the *Vedānta-kalpalatikā* during the middle of the 16th century.

The Nyāya (founded by Gautama) and the Vaiśeṣika (founded by Kaṇāda) schools founded sometime around 300 BCE grew up simultaneously and aligned themselves during the 17th century under the stewardship of Annambhaṭṭa and Viṣvanātha Pañcānana (Vaiśeṣikas) and Jagadīśa and Laugākṣi Bhāskara (Naiyāyikas). The logical realism of Nyāya was fused with the anatomical classification of the nature of existence as elaborated in the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras*. It would be pertinent to mention that the praxis of the traditional Nyāya school had been refuted by Śrīharṣa of Bengal in the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* sometime during the middle of the 12th century. This goaded Gaṅgeśa, author of the *Nyāya-cintāmaṇi*, to found the Navya-Nyāya (New Logic) school which was subsequently led by his son Vardhamāna followed by Pakṣadhara (1400-95), Sārvabhauma (1450-1530) and Raghunātha (1477-1547). Annambhaṭṭa harmonized the traditional and the Navya-Nyāya schools through his work *Tarka-saṁgraha* written about the 17th century.

The best work on Sāṁkhya (founded by Kapila around 500 BCE) was Vi-jñānabhikṣu's *Sāṁkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* written in the middle of the 16th century. The Yoga philosophy codified by Patañjali around 200 BCE was given a Śaivaite interpretation by Gorakṣanātha in *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati* (c. 1000), followed by two important works on



Sankaracharya

the same line, the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* (mid-15th century) by Yogendra Svātmārāma and the *Śiva Saṁhitā* (c. 1700), a compendium of 212 *sūtras* by some Nātha yogi. The *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* (c. 1350) by the Bengali sage Gheraṇḍa provided a Vaiṣṇava interpretation and the *Yoga-sāra-saṁgraha* (mid-16th century) by Vi-jñānabhikṣu and the *Maṇiprabhā* (c. 1600) by Rāmānanda Sarasvatī provided a Vedāntic interpretation to the Yoga philosophy. Hundreds of works on one or another aspect of Yoga have been published both in India and the West during the 20th century. These have been written by monks, philosophers, scientists, psychologists, academicians, heads of religious institutions or common writers. Of late Yoga has metamorphosed into a universal religious idiom to express the innate unity of the human soul with God.

The Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā school of thought founded by Jaimini (c. 200 BCE) was enriched by Mādhavācārya's *Jaiminiya Nyāya-mālā-vistāra* (c. 1350), Āpadeva's *Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-prakāśa* (c. 1630), Appayya Dīkṣita's (1554-1626) *Vidhi-rasāyana* and Khaṇḍadeva's (d. 1665) *Bhaṭṭadīpikā*.

The Vedānta, or Uttara-Mīmāṃsā, remained the ultimate philosophy during the millennium, inspiring the Bhakti and Sūfi traditions as well as the leaders of the Indian renaissance and Hindu nationalists during the 19th and 20th centuries. Practical Vedānta



Ramanujacharya

as the future universal religion gained votaries in the West through the orations and writings of Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) and his brother-disciples who followed him. The cue was well taken up by many other Hindu religious organizations and thinkers to preach the Vedānta in different forms. Such has been the impact of Vedānta preaching that Hinduism has become almost synonymous with it.

During the millennium the Vedānta philosophy was viewed from different angles by different schools of thought. Rāmānuja's *Śrī-bhāṣya* (c. 1085) and Śrīkaṇṭha's *Śaiva-bhāṣya* (c. 1400) represented the Viśiṣṭādvaita (Qualified Non-dualism) school; Madhva's *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (c. 1230), Viṣṇusvāmi's *Brahma Sūtra-bhāṣya* (13th century) and Vijñānabhikṣu's *Vijñānāmṛta* (16th century) represented the Dvaita (Dualism) school; Śrīnivāsa's *Vedānta Kaushtubha* (13th century) and Baladeva's *Govinda-bhāṣya* (18th century) stood for the Bhedābheda (Dualistic Non-dualism) and Acintya-bhedābheda doctrines respectively; Vallabha Śrīpati's *Anubhāṣya* propounded the pantheistic Śuddhādvaita (Pure Non-dualism) version of the Liṅgāyatas; Advaitānanda's *Brahmavidyābharana* (15th century) and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Vedānta-kalpālatikā* (16th century) explicated the Advaita Vedānta (Non-dualism).¹² The scholar-commentators on the Vedānta in recent times include, among others, Max Muller (1894), George

Thibaut (1904), Paul Deussen (1912), S.K. Belvalkar (1929), Rene Guenon (1945), Christopher Isherwood (1948), S. Radhakrishnan (1960) and the monks or pontiffs of Hindu religious bodies.

Proliferation of Hinduism: Vaiṣṇavism

The millennium was marked by the proliferation of Hinduism into various sects gravitating around Lord Viṣṇu, his consort, and his chief incarnations—Rāma and Kṛṣṇa; Lord Śiva and his kinetic aspect Śakti, the universal Divine Mother; or some *prakāṣa devatā* like a natural object or an animated being. The variety of religious streams gave Hinduism an oceanic disposition in which were merged different schools of worship and thought, ranging from the deeply philosophical and mystical to the grossly polytheistic, abstract and exostatic. Each sect had its spiritual lineage, philosophy, mythology, rituals and conventions, and was often divided and subdivided into various sects or branches which sometimes underwent further division over some petty doctrinal matter or pontifical issue. Despite differences in form these sects shared some common religious perceptions like the belief in karma, pre-existence, reincarnation, righteous actions and Self-realization.

Śaivism and Śāktism in their various forms held sway in the beginning of the millennium. But the ascendance of Vaiṣṇava religious devotionism represented by five major schools established one after the other by Rāmānuja (1017-1137), Madhva (1197-1278), Nimbārka (c. 1150), Vallabha (c. 1475-1530) and Caitanya (1484-1534) overawed them to some extent.¹³

Rāmānuja (b. Śrīperumbudūr near Madras), a Tamil brahmin hailing from the *ācārya* tradition (10th century) of Nāthamuni, Puṇḍarikākṣa, Rāma Miśra and Yāmunācārya

12. For a study of the development of literature on *śaḍ-darśanas*, see J.N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (Delhi, 1967), pp. 220-5, 285-92.

in successive apostolic order, rejected the absolute monism of Śaṅkara, reconciled the Vedānta to the concept of a personal God, and preached *viṣṇu-bhakti* to one and all, including the low-castes and apostates, as did the Ālvār saints of Tamil Nadu during the 7th-9th centuries. As a consequence, many outcastes were to attain to sainthood in times to come. Rāmānuja tried to harmonize the rituals of the *Pañcarātra Saṁhitā* with the *Vaikhānasa Saṁhitā* but gave preference to the latter. His sect, known as the Śrī Vaiṣṇava or Śrī Saṁpradāya, underwent a split about two and a half centuries after his death into the Vaḍagalais (northern school) and the Teṅgalais (southern school). The Vaḍagalais emphasized the study of Sanskrit while the Teṅgalais stressed on Tamil; the former believed in self-effort as a necessary concomitant to God-realization, the latter trusted in God's love which flows naturally towards devotees. To bring their point home the former gave the analogy of the young monkey that struggled hard to seize its mother while she jumped from one place to another (*markaṭa-nyāya*), and the latter that of the caring mother-cat who served without being coaxed or asked (*mārjāra-nyāya*). The most erudite proponents of the two divergent sects were Vedānta Deśika (Vaḍagalai) and Pillai Lokācārya (Teṅgalai). During his life Rāmānuja is said to have founded about 700 *maṭhas* and 74 hereditary offices of religious preceptors.¹⁴ His name finds a place in the pantheon of deities in south Indian temples.

Madhva (also called Ānandatīrtha), a Kannada brahmin, was, like Rāmānuja, an



Madhvacharya

inveterate critic of the Vedāntic monism of Śaṅkara, and hence suffered privations at the hands of his disciples. He pointed out the fundamental difference between God and the human soul and founded the Brahma Vaiṣṇava Saṁpradāya on the lines of the Bhāgavata sect, emphasizing the worship of Lord Kṛṣṇa without in any way excluding Lord Śiva or any other deities from the list of adorable Divine Beings. He travelled throughout India to preach his gospel and established eight monasteries, the most important among them in Udupi, his birthplace.

While Rāmānuja and Madhva did not give a place to Rādhā in temple worship since her name does not figure in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Nimbārka, a Telugu brahmin, described her as Lord Kṛṣṇa's eternal consort stemming from his very being. To him, Lord Kṛṣṇa was not just an *avatāra* or incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu but the supreme Soul itself. Hence he exclusively preached the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, making Vṛndāvana, near Mathurā, his permanent home. At the philosophical level, he believed that God, the human soul and the world, though identical, were indeed different, a doctrine which he enthusiastically preached by founding the Minandi Vaiṣṇava school of Vedānta. He abandoned the *samuccaya* doctrine of the earlier Vaiṣṇava schools which emphasized the need for both worldly duty and spiritual realization, and spoke of unyoked devotion to

13. Urmila Bhagowalia, *Vaiṣṇavism and Society in Northern India* (New Delhi, 1980), p. 174; cf. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (Strasbourg, 1913).

14. Urmila Bhagowalia, op. cit., 176-7; *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. 4, ed. H.B. Chattacharyya (Calcutta, 1983), pp. 160-2, 174-85; see also K.D. Bharadwaj, *Philosophy of Rāmānuja* (New Delhi, 1958).



Vallabhacharya

Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Daśa-ślokī*, a verse of ten stanzas. He produced a number of works like the *Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha* which were destroyed during the bigoted rule of Aurang-zib.¹⁵

The cult of Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā worship received an impetus from the 12th century onwards when the Bengali poet Jayadeva wrote the *Gīta Govinda* in Sanskrit, presenting the amorous details of Kṛṣṇa's relationship with Rādhā. The theme was further taken up by two other Bengali poets, Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa, in the early 15th century. Interestingly enough, though Caṇḍīdāsa was a Śākta, his work *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrtanam* was widely read. Another 15th-century lyrical work dilating on the Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā companionship was written by Bilvamaṅgala belonging to the Viṣṇu-vāmī sect. It carried the title *Kṛṣṇa-karnāmṛta* and was composed in Sanskrit. A Gujarātī Vaiṣṇava saint, Narasimha Mehtā (1414-80), versified the theme somewhat erotically but not without giving it a spiritual touch. It may be noted that while Vaiṣṇavism in the north degenerated at times due to the Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā tradition, southern Vaiṣṇavism kept its crystalline spiritual purity intact due to the strong philosophical basis it enjoyed.¹⁶

Vallabhācārya, a Telugu brahmin and contemporary of Caitanya Mahāprabhu,

founded a non-ascetic Vaiṣṇava sect after his name. Like Nimbārka he regarded the twin worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as the only way to spiritual fulfilment. He is said to have had the supreme spiritual realization while in Mathurā. Later he decided to settle down in the holy city of Vārāṇasī, where he wrote scholarly treatises in Sanskrit like the *Vedānta Sūtra Anubhāṣya*, the *Subodhinī* and the *Tattva-dīpa-nibandha*. In the *Siddhānta-rahasya* he described his encounter with the Lord and the factor of Divine Grace involved in it. He held that the sublimest yearning of a Vallabhāite was to become a *gopī* and sport with Kṛṣṇa in Goloka. The tradition of the sect was continued by his disciples and the disciples of his son Viṭṭhalanātha, totalling eight in number (*aṣṭa chāp*). Their chief shrine was at Nāthadvāra in Rajasthan. The sect fell into disrepute at times but regained its moral strength and numbers, particularly in western India.¹⁷ Sūrdās (c. 1550), the blind Vaiṣṇava poet of north India, well known for his devotional songs on Lord Kṛṣṇa and for his three works, *Sūr-sārāvalī*, *Sāhitya-ratna* and *Sūr-sāgar*, was inspired by the Vallabhā tradition.¹⁸

Caitanya Mahāprabhu, the Vaiṣṇava brahmin saint from Bengal, was inspired by the lyrics of Jayadeva, Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati, and by Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, to see God in Kṛṣṇa. After receiving initiation (with the monastic name Kṛṣṇa Caitanya) from Īśvara Purī of Gayā, he gave an ecstatic form to the Kṛṣṇa cult by making singing and dancing an essential component of worship. The congregational chanting of the holy names of God (*saṁkīrtana*) and the processional worship sessions (*nagara-kīrtana*) which continue to this day in both India and the West, gave his cult

15. Urmila Bhagowalia, op. cit., p. 179; J.N. Farquhar, op. cit., pp. 239-40.

16. J.N. Farquhar, op. cit., pp. 237-8, 307; Urmila Bhagowalia, op. cit., p. 179.

17. Vallabhacharya (Faridabad, 1976).

18. *The Hindu Tradition*, ed. Ainslie T Embree (New York, 1966), p. 254; see also J. Misra, *The Religious Poetry of Surdas* (Patna, 1934).

a solid footing. To him goes the credit for rediscovering and developing the places associated with Lord Kṛṣṇa's life. The *Aṣṭaka* (Eight Couplets) written by him has enriched the spiritual literature of Bengal.¹⁹

Swayed by spiritual devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa, Mīrābāi (1498-1546), a Rājput princess of Mewār, spent her entire life in total surrender to her Divine Lover and composed lyrics saturated with deep emotions, which are recited to this day. Among other important saint-devotees of Lord Kṛṣṇa during the 15th and 16th centuries were Śaṁkara Deva (1449-1568) of Assam, Purandaradāsa (1480-1564) of Karnataka, and the Vārkarī mystics of Paṇḍharpur (to be distinguished from the Dharakaris, followers of Rāmdās who was a devotee of Lord Rāma), notably Nāmdev, Eknāth and Tukārām, famous for writing *abhaṅgs* (hymns), and Jñāneśvar, author of the Marāṭhī commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* known as *Jñāneśvarī*. The Vārkaris of Maharashtra worshipped Viṭṭhala or Viṭhobā whom they identified with Lord Kṛṣṇa. Sixty-one hymns of Nāmdev, which speak of the glory of God, find a place in the *Guru Granth Sāhib*, the sacred scripture of the Sikhs.²⁰

Just as Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya among others propagated the worship of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Rāmānanda (1360-1470), the great brahmin saint of north India born in Allāhābād, popularized the worship of Lord Rāma, regarded as the embodiment of *dharma*. He was the first Bhakti reformer to use Hindī for preaching his doctrine. Belonging originally to the Vedānta school of Rāmānuja, he broke away with it when he came to be



Chaitanya Mahaprabhu

considered an apostate due to a misunderstanding between him and his brother-monks over the issue of observance of rules regarding privacy in meals during his long itinerary in India. Like many other Bhakti reformers of his time, he was opposed to caste, untouchability, sectarianism and religious bigotry. His intense devotion to Lord Rāma and his consort Sītā, crystallized in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* which later formed the praxis of the Smārta brahmin Tulsīdās's (1532-1623) immortal epic *Rām-carit-mānas* (*The Holy Lake of Rāma's Deeds*). His twelve disciples, namely, Ravidās the cobbler, Kabīr the weaver, Dhannā the Jāt peasant, Senā the barber, Pipā the Rājput prince, Bhāvānanda, Sukhānanda, Āśānanda, Surasurānanda, Paramānanda, Mahānanda and Śrī Ānanda, spread across his social and religious ideas, sometimes in an iconoclastic manner, as for example, in the case of Kabīr, whose condemnation of caste, predominance of brahmins, image worship, pilgrimages and religious hypocrisy was full of wit, sarcasm and plain logic. Among others who derived inspiration from his teachings were the saints Mīrābāi, Nabhādās (c. 1625), the author of *Bhakta-mālā*, and Malūkdās (1574-1682).

19. J.N. Farquhar, op. cit., pp. 307-12; Monier-Williams, *Hinduism* (Calcutta, 1951), pp. 102-3; *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. 4, pp. 186-200; see also M.T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya Movement* (Calcutta, 1925).

20. J.N. Farquhar, op. cit., p. 306; *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. 4, pp. 201-10, 356-9; *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, ed. Harbans Singh (Patiala, 1997), pp. 161-2.

Proliferation of Hinduism: Śaivism

Śaivism showed remarkable growth during the first two centuries of the millennium, after which it suffered a decline in popularity among the people of north India due to the rise of the Bhakti movement, which presented Lord Rāma and Lord Kṛṣṇa as the incarnations of God. The Muslim onslaught, particularly in Kashmir and Bengal, also arrested the development of Śaivism. And yet, Lord Śiva, both as a personal God and as the Absolute, continued to be projected through literary and historical works, paintings, scrolls, masks, models, sculptures and other iconic forms. Śaiva schools of all varieties and hues produced a wide variety of literature, both canonical and popular, influencing the Bhakti and Sūfī saints.

The Śaiva Siddhānta school, rooted in the sage Tirumūlar's monistic theism which he propounded through the *Tirumantiram* (c. 200 BCE), was evolved about the 12th century by Aghoraśiva, who tried to harmonize the Sanskrit and Tamilian traditions and preached a pluralistic doctrine. Meikaṇḍar (1240), a low-caste poet-saint, systematized it through a succinct treatise, the *Śiva-jñāna-bodham*. Earlier, the poet Āṇḍār Nambi (1100) had put together the canonical writings of Tamil Śaivism in 11 volumes, to which an addition was made by Śekkilār sometime in the 12th century. The *Periya Purāṇam*, as it came to be known, recounted the lives and mystical achievements of 63 Śaiva saints. This was followed by many other works of merit like Arunandi's *Iurpāvīru-pāḍu*, Mānavacagam Kadantar's *Uṇmai Vilakkam* and Umāpati Śivācārya's treatises, notably the *Śivappirakāśam* comprising of 100 verses.²¹

The emergence of the Liṅgāyata sect under the guidance of Basava (1105-1167) in the 12th century was an important development in Śaivism, since it successfully countered the



Nataraja Siva

twin challenge of the growing popularity of Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism and the increasing hold of brahmins over the social and religious activities of people in the Kaṇṇāṭaka region. That is how it came to be known as Vīraśaivism ('the brave Śaiva cult'). The sect rejected caste, laid down five codes of conduct (*pañcācāra*) emphasizing moral values, and prescribed 'eight shields' (*aṣṭāvaraṇas*)—namely, *guru* (spiritual teacher), *liṅga* (emblem of the Lord), *jaṅgama* (wandering monk), *pāḍukā* (guru's sandals), *prasāda* (consecrated food), *vibhūti* (holy ash), *rudrākṣa* (rosary made from *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*) and *mantra* (holy syllables)—for purifying the body and mind. Its first five monasteries were established in Kedārnāth, Śrīśaila, Bālehalli, Ujini and Vārāṇasī. *Śrīkara-bhāṣya*, an exegetical work on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, the *Vacanas*, comprising mainly of Basava's discourses, and the *Basava Purāṇa*, written in Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu respectively, form an important part of Vīraśaiva literature.

Among the Pāśupata Śaivas, the Nakulīśas, Kāpālikas, Raseśvaras and Gorakhnāthis, the last mentioned maintained their popularity graph throughout the millennium, despite the emergence of the Bhakti sects in the 15th and 16th centuries which preached *Sahaja Yoga* (easy way of union with God) as against *Haṭha Yōga* (involving forceful effort to achieve spiritual union). The Śivādvaita school deriving from Śrīkantha's com-

21. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. 4, pp. 74-7; Satguru Sivaya Subramuniyaswami, *Dancing with Siva*, pp. 494-8.



Basaveswara

mentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* (c. 500-200 BCE) had an able exponent in Appayya Dīkṣita (1554-1626), whose writings and sermons re-established the concept of monistic theism. Kāśmīr Śaivism could not flourish much owing to Muslim domination, except during the period of Zaynu'l-Ābidīn (1420-70) who followed a tolerant policy.

Several historical shrines dedicated to Lord Śiva were constructed during the millennium. These include the Bṛhadīśvara temple in Tanjāvūr (built by Rājarāja Cola I about 1000), the Liṅgarāja temple in Bhuvaneśvar (built by the rulers of the Gaṅga dynasty in the 11th century, the Hoysaleśvara temple in Halebid (built by the Hoysala king Vijaya Narasimha I in 1150) and the Mīnākṣī temple in Madurai (built by the Nāyaka rulers in the 17th century). The last among these has two sanctuaries: one dedicated to Lord Śiva and the other to his consort, the goddess Mīnākṣī, which, in a way proves that existence is bipolar—the masculine aspect is dormant without the feminine, and the feminine barren without the masculine; the two together make life creative and dynamic.

Śāktism, based on the Mother aspect of Godhead, grew particularly in Bengal, Assam and northern India during the millennium, and continues to be popular. This is evident from the rush of devotees at the Kālighāt temple in Calcutta, the Kāmākhyā Devī temple near Guwahati, the Mother-goddess

shrines of Cintāpūrṇī, Jvālājī, Śitalā and Cāmuṇḍā in Himachal Pradesh, and Vaiṣṇo Devī in Jammu and Kashmir. If at times the Mother cult degraded into heinous practices, at other times it gave birth to enlightened beings like Ramakrishna Paramahansa (1836-86), a worshipper of the goddess Kālī, in whom the spiritual currents of the 19th century consummated, producing a humanistic school of thought.

The Gāṇapatya sect, advocating the worship of the elephant-faced, pot-bellied god Gaṇeśa before the beginning of any good work, grew up along with Śaivism and remained quite active during the period under study. But the Saura cult gravitating around the worship of the Sun god underwent an overall decline except during the 13th century, when Narasimhadeva of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty built a shrine to the deity at Konārka.²²

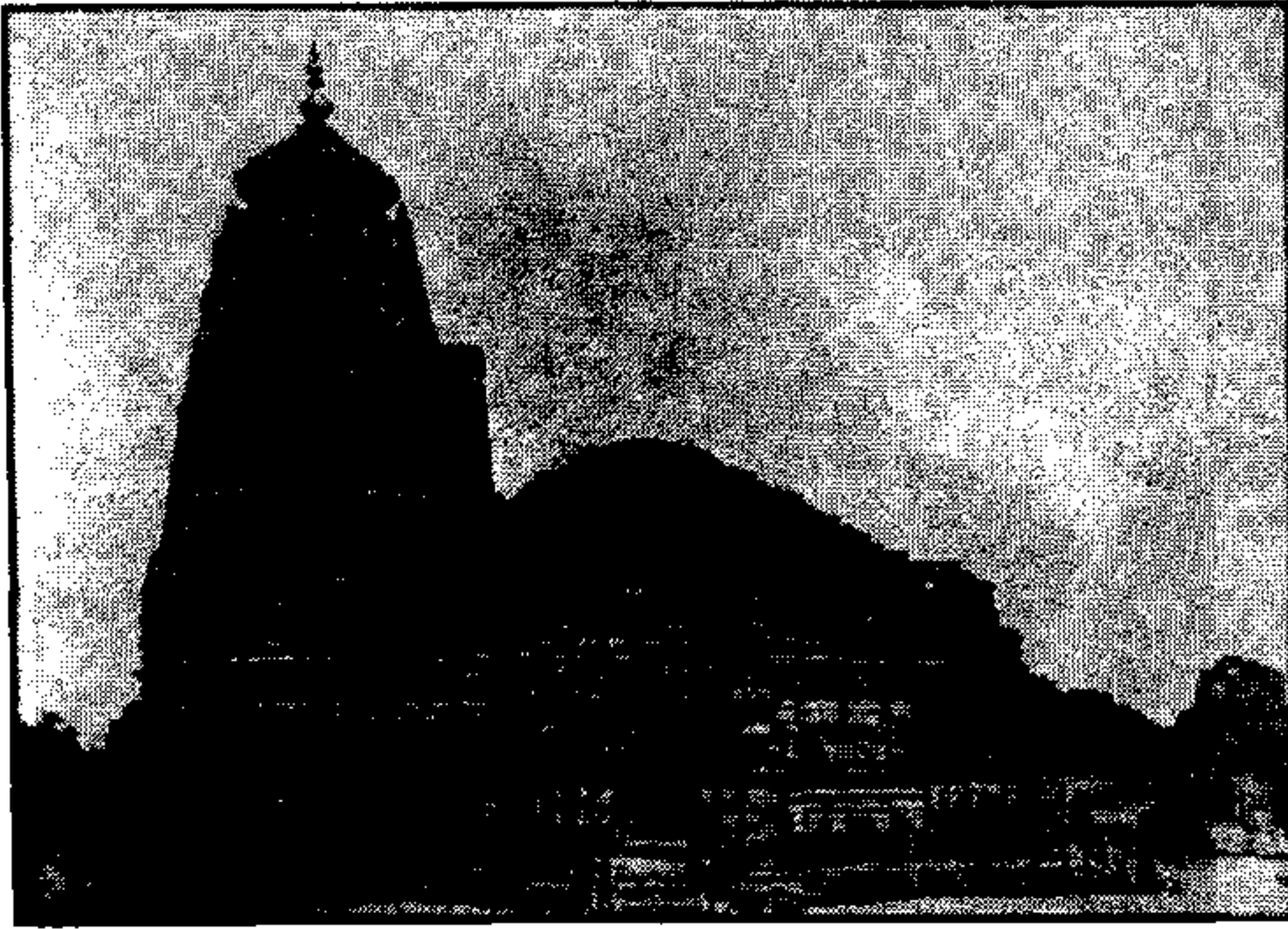
Advent of Europeans

The spirit of faith and devotion generated by different sects, cults, scriptures and holy men among people in medieval times received a jolt with the advent of Europeans in India. Henceforth, faith was to be tested on the touchstone of reason and logic. Devotion to the guru and his belief system was to be juxtaposed with the Western concept of individuality. The urge for peace was to be replaced by the urge for development. The approach to education was to be secular and scientific and not sectarian. The languages were to have a new meaning not in terms of phoenitic niceties but in terms of thought and content. Redundant social practices like *sati*, infanticide and human sacrifice, having no scriptural sanction, were to be banned legally.

Christianity and Hinduism

The meeting between Christianity and

22. Gurū Nānak Dev (1469-1538), the founder of Sikhism and an inspired social and religious reformer, derided the Sun worshippers at a Kumbha Mela by throwing water in the western direction and, when questioned, replied that he was watering his fields in Panjāb.



A north Indian temple

Hinduism had begun with the arrival of two Portuguese Jesuit missionaries, Francis Xavier and Fr Robert de Nobili, in 1542 and 1605 respectively in Goa and Madurai. Fr Nobili mastered Sanskrit and Tamil, rummaged through the Hindu scriptures, took to vegetarianism, dressed like a *sannyāsin* and posed as a brahmin. He was the first to convert a large number of people from the high castes to Christianity. Then came St John de Britte and Joseph Beschi, who wrote a masterpiece in Tamil under the title *Tembavāṇi*. Protestant missionary activities in India which began with Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, Henry Plutschau and Friedrich Schwartz of the Danish Lutheran Mission received an impetus with the establishment of the Baptist Mission in Serampore towards the end of the 18th century. William Carey (1793-1831) rendered the Bible into Bengali with the help of Munshi Ramram Bose. Carey, like his predecessors in missionary work—Thomas Stephens who composed a Purana in Marāṭhī and Ziegenbalg who translated the Bible into Tamil—achieved considerable success. The arrival of Anglican missions in the 18th century and of the American Protestant missions as also the Catholics in the 19th century was regarded as a religious challenge by the orthodox.²³

The early Christian perceptions of Hinduism were more or less biased. What the Christians saw in Hinduism was gross idola-

try, meaningless rituals, redundant customs and ceremonies, opaque schools of philosophy contradicting one another and an exploitative social base. British orientalists of the 18th century like Holwell, Halhed, Alexander Dow, Charles Wilkins and Sir William Jones demolished some of these images through their writings.²⁴ But it was left to Swami Vivekananda to present the better side of Hinduism in a much more authoritative way at the world's first Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. He made Hindus throughout the world feel an inch taller through his soul-stirring lectures and writings both in India and in the West. The complacent, sluggish and westernized Hindu community, which had lost faith in its cultural heritage and considered British rule as a divine dispensation, was shaken to its core and started thinking on positive lines. Swami Vivekananda became the prophet of emancipation—in India because of his new philosophy of social and religious change, and in the West because of his inspiring message of Vedānta which could dilute, if not fully check, the tide of materialism and sensualism.²⁵

Indian Renaissance

The Indian renaissance, which reached its culminating point under the spiritual stewardship of Ramakrishna Paramahansa and his worthy disciple Swami Vivekananda, began with Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) whose monistic, humanistic, liberal and radical social thought prepared the ground for the removal of social evils like *satī*, child marriage, illiteracy, caste rigidity and the subjugation of

23. *The Gazetteer of India: Country and People* (New Delhi, 1965), Vol. 1, pp. 489-93; Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 205, 280.

24. See Satish K. Kapoor, 'The Western Perspectives on Hinduism' in *The Journal of Religious Studies* (1987), Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 13-22.

25. See Satish K. Kapoor, *Cultural Contact and Fusion: Swami Vivekananda in the West* (Jalandhar, 1987).

women to the extent possible. The Brahmo Samaj which he founded in 1828 provided a rational response to the Western challenge. His successor Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905) and later Brahmo Samajists like Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-1884) and Pratap Chandra Mazumdar (b. 1836), who broke away from the parent organization, continued to do useful social work.

While Raja Rammohan Roy went back to the Upanishads for moral sustenance and guidance, Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1825-83), who founded the Arya Samaj in 1875, looked back to the Vedas to realize the formation of an ideal society and an ideal faith. He rejected caste based on birth, idolatry, polygamy, untouchability, early marriage and other evils, and shielded Hinduism by publishing the *Satyartha Prakasha*, which on the one hand provided the quintessentials of Vedic thought and on the other questioned the veracity of some beliefs held by post-Vedic sects and cults as also by the Semitic religions, Christianity and Islam. He initiated the *śuddhi* movement for converting untouchables and others who had once relinquished the fold of Hinduism under persuasion and pressure. In times to come, many Arya Samaj leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) and Bhai Paramanand (1874-1947) among others contributed to the freedom struggle.

The movement for Hindu revivalism and reform was enriched by Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-94), Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91) and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920). Chatterji's novel *Anandamath*, which carried the famous verse 'Vande Mātaram' became virtually a mantra for nationalists. Vidyasagar's crusade for ameliorating the lot of women and his bold initiative in arranging for the first Hindu widow-remarriage among the upper castes in 1856, saved Hinduism from much ignominy. Tilak reintroduced the festivals of Raksha-bandhan and Ganesh Puja to bring about unity among the people. His interpretation of the *Bhagavadgītā* under the title *Gita Rahasya*, his accolades for Śivājī



A south Indian temple

(1627-80), the Marāṭhā Hindu leader who braved Muslim oppression with courage and created a dynasty, and his love for Indian cultural heritage to which he occasionally referred in his speeches and writings, fostered patriotic feelings to the extent that the revolutionary Vasudev Chapekar (1880-99) died on the scaffold with a copy of the *Gītā* in his hand.

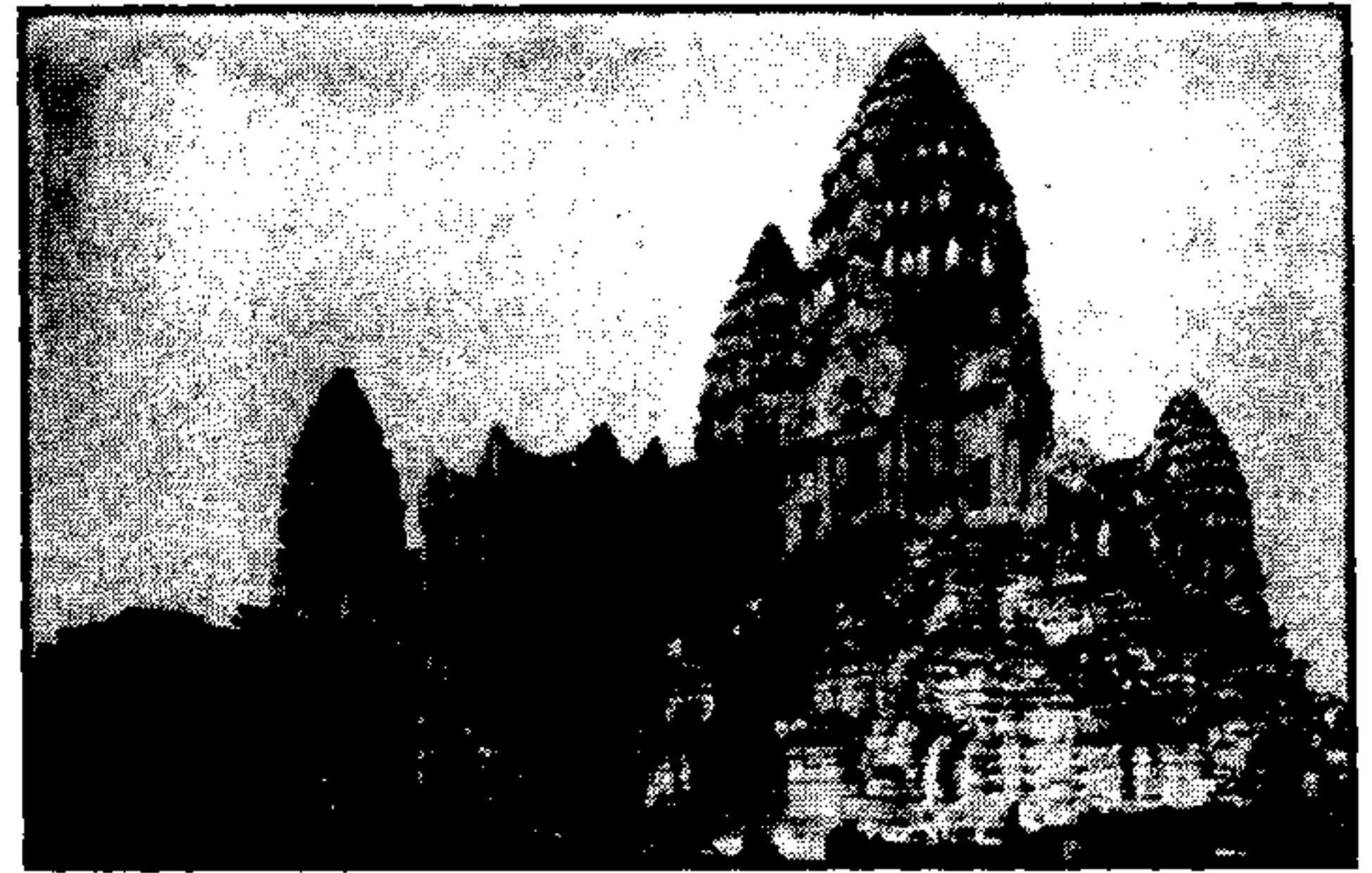
The contribution of two women of foreign origin, Annie Besant (1847-1933) of the Theosophical Society and Sister Nivedita (1867-1911), to the socio-political awakening of India has few parallels in history. Both created an awareness among the people about their heritage, both worked for women. The former created a niche for herself in politics, the latter in the field of women's education.

Hindu Revivalism

Hindu revivalism, characterized by the defence of orthodox traditions, a counterattack on rival belief-systems and the resuscitation of ancient Hindu glory, began to take an organized form during the last three decades of the 19th century. The Sanatana Dharma Rakshini Sabha was among the earliest to organize Bengali Hindus in defence of idol worship, rituals and ceremonies, and Sanskrit education. This was followed by the establishment of a number of societies on similar lines—the Bharata Dharma Mahamandal founded by Pandit Din Dayal Sharma in Pun-

jab (1886), the Sanatana Dharma Sabhas of Haridwar and Delhi (1895), the Nigamagama Mandali established by Swami Jnanananda in Mathura (1896) and the Bharata Dharma Mahaparishad in south India (1890s)—all of which and many more merged together to form the Bharata Dharma Mahamandal at Mathura in 1902. Three years later the headquarters of the Mandal was shifted to Banaras. The objectives were to unite the Hindus of various denominations having faith in the ancient socio-religious traditions into one unit; to adopt means for the progress of Sanskrit and Hindi; to manage charitable and religious institutions in accordance with the scriptures; to establish and support Hindu educational institutions and promote learning through other ways; and to enter the print world for the propagation of Hindu views.²⁶

While the Mahamandal was concerned with socio-religious issues, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha founded at Allahabad in 1910 had political overtones, and was born in reaction to the formation of the All-India Muslim League (1906), the introduction of separate electorates for Muslims (1909) and the failure of the Indian National Congress to protect Hindu interests. It opposed the British Raj for its pro-Muslim policy, the Congress for its pseudo-secularism and passive resistance to colonial rule and the League for its fundamentalist outlook. Among its top leaders were Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946), a political and religious stalwart of his time, the founder of the Banaras Hindu University and a pure *sanātanist* in matters of food, dress and etiquette, and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966), a revolutionary and social activist, the author of *The First War of Indian Independence* which was banned by the British, and an avowed supporter of Hindu nationalism. Savarkar believed in the absolute perfec-



Angkor Wat

tion of Hindu thought to which he gave expression in his book *Hindutva* (Nagpur, 1923). But he made a clear distinction between Hinduism and *hindutva*: the former belonged to the domain of religion and theology, and the latter was a political concept which defined a Hindu as one who inherits the blood of the race whose source could be traced to 'the Himalayan altitudes of the Vedic Sap-tasindhu.' Two other leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, Bhai Paramanand and Dr B.S. Moonje (1872-1948) helped in promoting the cause of Hindu nationalism and social reform.

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), founded in 1925 by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar (1890-1940) and strengthened by Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar (1906-73) believed in the doctrine of *hindū rāṣṭra* and is, at present, a key Hindu organization. Other radical organizations are the Vishwa Hindu Parishad co-founded by Swami Chinmayananda (1917-93) in 1964, Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena (having regional variations).

Hinduism in the West

During the last two centuries of the millennium, Hindu ideas percolated into the West through the rendering of Hindu sacred texts and literary works into English by prominent Western scholars like Charles Wilkins (1750-1836) who translated the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sir William Jones (1746-94) who translated Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*, the *Gīta Govinda*, *Hitopadeśa* and *Manu Smṛti*, H.H. Wilson (1786-1860) who translated the *Rg*

26. S.N. Sen, *History of the Freedom Movement in India (1857-1947)* (New Delhi, 1994), p. 84; J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (Delhi, 1967), pp. 316-8.

Veda and Max Muller (1823-1900) who published the 50-volume 'Sacred Books of the East' series. The publications of Raja Rammo-han Roy and those of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Asiatic Society of England also helped Europeans to have a better understanding of Hinduism. In America, references to Hindu religious texts began to appear in Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Journal* from 1830 onwards. Sanskrit was included in the curriculum of Yale (1840) and Harvard (1872) universities with the efforts of Edward Elbridge Salisbury and Charles Rockwell Lanman. The publication of M. Monier-Williams's English-Sanskrit (1851) and Sanskrit-English (1899) dictionaries proved to be of great use to orientalisists all over Europe and America.

Hindu mystical ideas of the Upanishads and the *Bhagavadgītā* influenced German Romanticists and Idealist writers like Schelling, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Novalis, Tieck, August Friedrich Schlegel and Schopenhauer, who in turn ignited Romantic thinking in Europe, particularly England, and prepared the ground for the birth of Transcendentalism in America. John Gottfried Herder of Germany was greatly fascinated by Georg Forster's first German translation of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* and wrote about it emotionally. Another German poet, dramatist and novelist, Goethe (1749-1832) discovered in the *Śākuntala* and the *Meghadūta* (another play of Kālidāsa translated by Wilson in 1813) some everlasting nuggets of wisdom on the philosophy of life. Vedantic ideas also found expression in the writings of English poets like William Wordsworth (1770-1850), Matthew Arnold (1822-88), P.B. Shelley (1792-1822), Alfred Tennyson (1809-92) and T.S. Eliot (1888-1965).

The works of American Transcendentalists—Emerson's *Essays*, Thoreau's *Walden* and *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, and Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*—reveal considerable Hindu influence. Among the cults of partly Hindu origin in 19th century America, mention may be made of Theoso-

phy, founded by Col Henry Alcott (1832-1907) and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-91) in New York (1875) and Christian Science founded by Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910) in 1875 and having its headquarters in Boston from 1879 onwards. Hindu influence on the Unity School of Christianity founded by Charles and Myrtle Fillmore at Kansas (1899), the Church of the Higher Life founded by Quimby at Boston (1894) and the Liberal Catholic Church (influenced by the theosophical ideas of Charles W. Leadbeater and founded towards the close of the 19th century), besides many more Christian and secular organizations and individual preachers, was well brought out by Wendell Thomas in his book *Hinduism Invades America* (New York: Beacon Press, 1930). In times to come, Aldous Huxley and Christopher Isherwood, and more recently, David Frawley (Vamadeva Shastri), Satguru Sivaya Subramuniyaswami and Raimundo Panikkar, all of Western origin, have helped in reinterpreting and popularizing Hindu thought.

The establishment of Hindu missions in America starting from the Vedanta Society of New York, founded by Swami Vivekananda in 1904 (registered four years later by Swami Abhedananda) and the Yogoda Satsang Society or Self-Realization Fellowship of Boston and Los Angeles founded by Paramahansa Yogananda down to the Transcendental Meditation centres of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi mostly in North America (from 1959 onwards), the Hare Krishna movement of A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada (1896-1977), the Brahmakumari mission (originally Om Mandali) founded by Dada Lekh Raj (1909-69) in 1936 in Sindh, and other religious institutions teaching yoga and meditation, have on the one hand satisfied the spiritual urge of American seekers, and on the other given a sense of pride to the Hindu mind which nurtures in its subconscious the propensity to be the spiritual leader of humanity. The missions or societies directly founded or influenced by the philosophy of such stal-

warts as Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ramatirtha (1873-1906), Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) and his spiritual successor Mira Richard (of French origin, popularly known as 'The Mother'), Sadhu T.L. Vaswani (1879-1966), Ramana Maharshi (1879-1950), Anandamayi Ma (1896-1982), Swami Sivananda (1883-1963), Swami Muktananda (1908-1982), Swami Chinmayananda (1917-93), Satya Sai Baba (b. 1926), Sri Chinmoy (b. 1931), Panduranga Shastri Athavale (winner of the 1996 Ramon Magsaysay Award), Swami Chidananda (better known as Muni Ji, founder of the 18-volume *Encyclopedia of Hinduism* project), Swami Brahmananda Saraswati (d. 1993), Swami Vishnudevananda (d. 1993), Swami Satchidananda (of Yogaville, Virginia) and many others have gained votaries for Hinduism and the Hindu way of life, by exploding such myths as that Hinduism is polytheistic, ritualistic, fatalistic, casteist and life-negating. Publishing houses like Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (Bombay), Gita Press (Gorakhpur), Advaita Ashrama (Calcutta), Motilal Banarsidass (Delhi) and the Himalayan Academy of USA founded by Satguru Sivaya Subramuniyaswami in 1979 (known for its insightful monthly magazine *Hinduism Today*) have also helped in disseminating the distilled wisdom of the Hindu sages and seers in India and abroad. Voice of India (Delhi), founded by the late Ram Swarup and managed by Sita Ram Goel (both authors), has dispelled historical fallacies, for example, the theory of Aryan invasion of India, and coun-

tered false propaganda against Hinduism in recent times. Thus, the overall picture of Hinduism towards the end of the millennium looks quite encouraging.

Hinduism is influencing the thought and life patterns of people all over the world. Vedānta, Yoga, Āyurveda, Vāstu-śāstra, Vedic mathematics and astrology, Tantra, mantra and *yantra* have gained wider acceptability and a near-scientific basis. Hindu graphics, ornaments, rosaries, incense sticks, audio and video cassettes and CDs of *bhajans*, *satsangs* and *sankirtans* are in great demand in the West. Hinduism has pride of place in the curricula of universities in Europe (including Russia) and America. The scholarly works of S. Radhakrishnan and S.N. Dasgupta are still recommended by academicians abroad. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini has been used by German computer experts to chart new programmes. The Vedic way of farming involving the rite of *agnihotra* is gaining credence in America, Germany, Poland and other countries. Environmentalists have found new insights in the Vedic worldview which regards all life as sacred and one in essence. Vegetarianism is gaining ground. The gospel of ahimsa, a cardinal virtue of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism which in recent times was imbibed and lived by Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), as also the socio-spiritual concept of harmonious living embedded in the aphorism *vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam* (the world is one family) carry hope for humankind torn by hatred and violence at all levels. □

Children of Immortal Bliss

Ye are the Children of God, the sharers of immortal bliss, holy and perfect beings. Ye divinities on earth—sinners! It is a sin to call a man so; it is a standing libel on human nature. Come up, O lions, and shake off the delusion that you are sheep; you are souls immortal, spirits free, blest and eternal; ye are not matter, ye are not bodies; matter is your servant, not you the servant of matter.

—Swami Vivekananda

The Buddha's Message in a Globalized World

BHIKKHU BODHI

Venerable Bhikkhu Bodhi is an American Buddhist monk long resident in Sri Lanka. He entered the Buddhist order in 1972 as a pupil of the late Ven Balangoda Ananda Maitreya Mahathera. He has been the editor of the Buddhist Publication Society in Kandy since 1984 and its president since 1988. His publications include The All-Embracing Net of Views, The Noble Eightfold Path and A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma.

Over the present century, the world has been dramatically transformed in ways that none but a handful of prophets and visionaries could have foreseen a hundred years ago. From a multitude of loosely connected nation-states it has evolved by leaps and bounds into a tightly knit global community, linked together by rapid means of transportation and instantaneous media of communication. Old barriers of space and time have dropped away, and in any major city people from the far corners of the earth may be found sitting at the same table to discuss business, diplomacy, health care, or culture. The merging of markets, the mingling of populations, the dissolving of boundaries has confronted us with new vistas of self-understanding, forcing us to recognize the hard truth that we all face a common human destiny. The claims to special privilege of a particular people, nation, race, or religion now sound hollow. As occupants of the same planet—a bright blue jewel suspended in the frigid blackness of infinite space—we either flourish together or perish together. In the long run, between these two alternatives no middle ground is feasible.

But while our proud technology has enabled us to cross continents in hours and to survey the most distant events in the comfort of our living-rooms, the daily newspapers land on our desk each day with grim reminders that all is not in order. Repeatedly we are brought to see that although we can split the atom and unscramble genetic codes, our mas-

tery over the external world has not ushered in the Utopia that we had so confidently anticipated. To the contrary, the shrinking of global boundaries has been shadowed by problems of enormous scope, human problems so grave that they throw into question the continued survival of our planet and our race. To the discerning observer these dilemmas might be read as celestial warnings telling us that our struggle for supremacy over the earth has been terribly narrow and short-sighted.

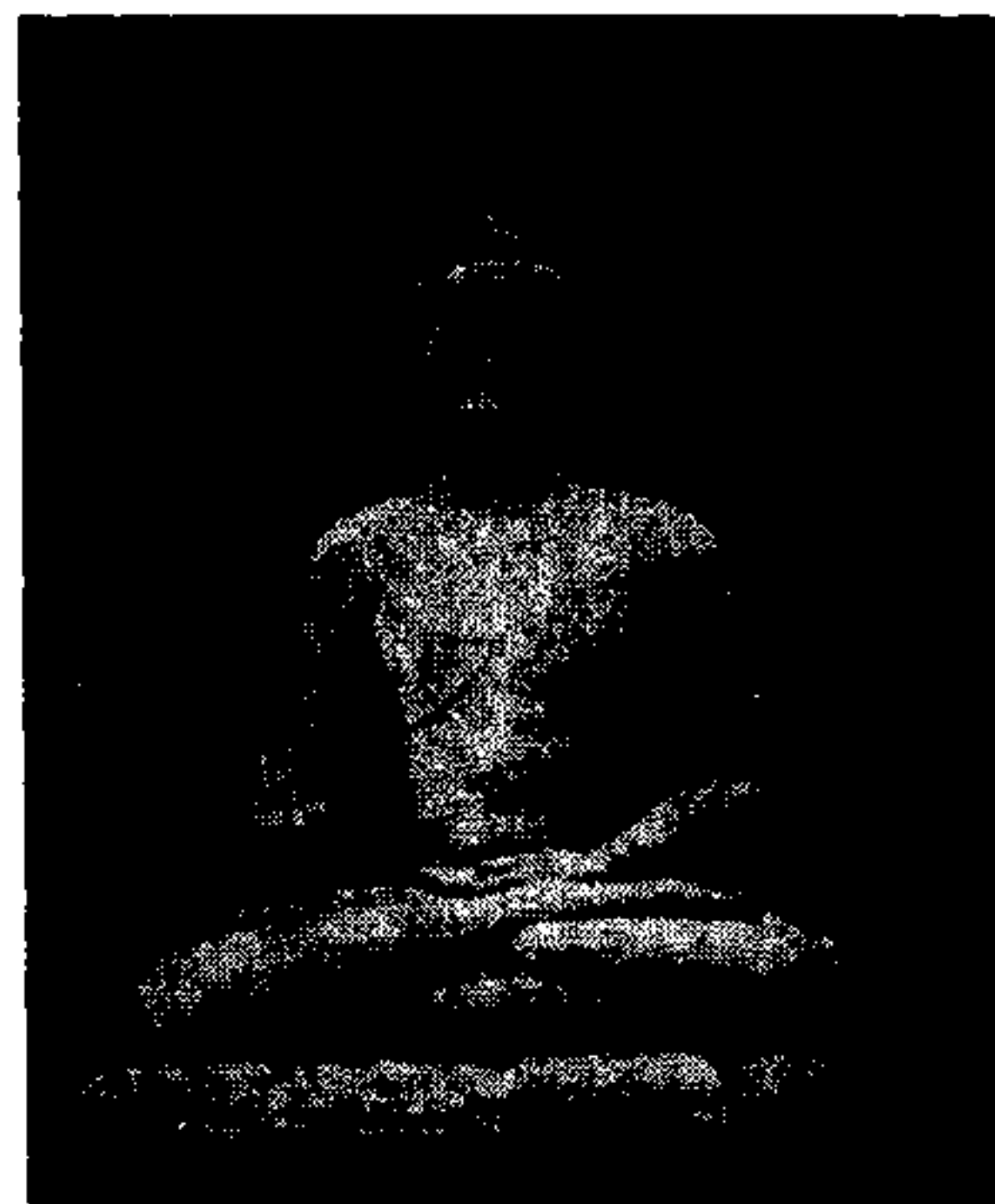
The problems that challenge the global community today come in diverse shapes and sizes. For convenience, the most formidable and urgent ones might be grouped into two major areas: problems pertaining to man's relationship with nature, and problems pertaining to the inter-relationships between different communities of people. As the most prominent examples of the former class we might mention the depletion of the earth's natural resources and the despoilation of the environment. The headings in the latter class would be far more numerous: regional tensions of ethnic and religious character; the continuing spread of nuclear weapons; the denial of human rights by repressive regimes; the widening gap in wealth between the Industrialized World and the Third World.

While these problems have been extensively discussed from social, political, and economic points of view, they also cry out for critical examination from a religious view-

point as well. For a spiritually sensitive mind would not look upon these difficult dilemmas as isolated phenomena, to be treated by piecemeal solutions, but would insist on probing into unexplored areas for hidden roots and subtle interconnections. From the perspective of religious thought, what is most striking when we reflect upon our global afflictions as a whole is their essentially symptomatic character. Beneath the wide diversity of their outward faces, they appear to be so many manifestations of a common root, of a deep and hidden spiritual malignancy infecting our social organism.

This common root might be briefly characterized as an existential dislocation by reason of which we are prone to place short-term, narrowly considered self-interest (including the interests of the limited social or ethnic groups to which we happen to belong) above the long-range, vital good of the broader human community. The multitude of social ills that assail us cannot be adequately accounted for without bringing into view the powerful human drives that lie behind them. And what is distinctive about these drives, from a spiritual perspective, is that they derive from a pernicious distortion in the functioning of the human mind, a distortion that sends us blindly in pursuit of factional, divisive, circumscribed ends even when such pursuits threaten to be ultimately self-destructive.

The religious perspective becomes increasingly relevant to humanity in the global era because the essential task of religion—in its proper spiritual dimension rather than in its institutional and confessional embodiments—is to guide human beings away from the brink of disaster and steer them towards the realization of the highest and most complete good, that which is considered the Divine, the Transcendent, the Unconditioned. The special light that the higher religions shed on the quest for the final good is to draw a sharp and uncompromisable distinction between the apparent good and the authentic



Bhagavan Buddha

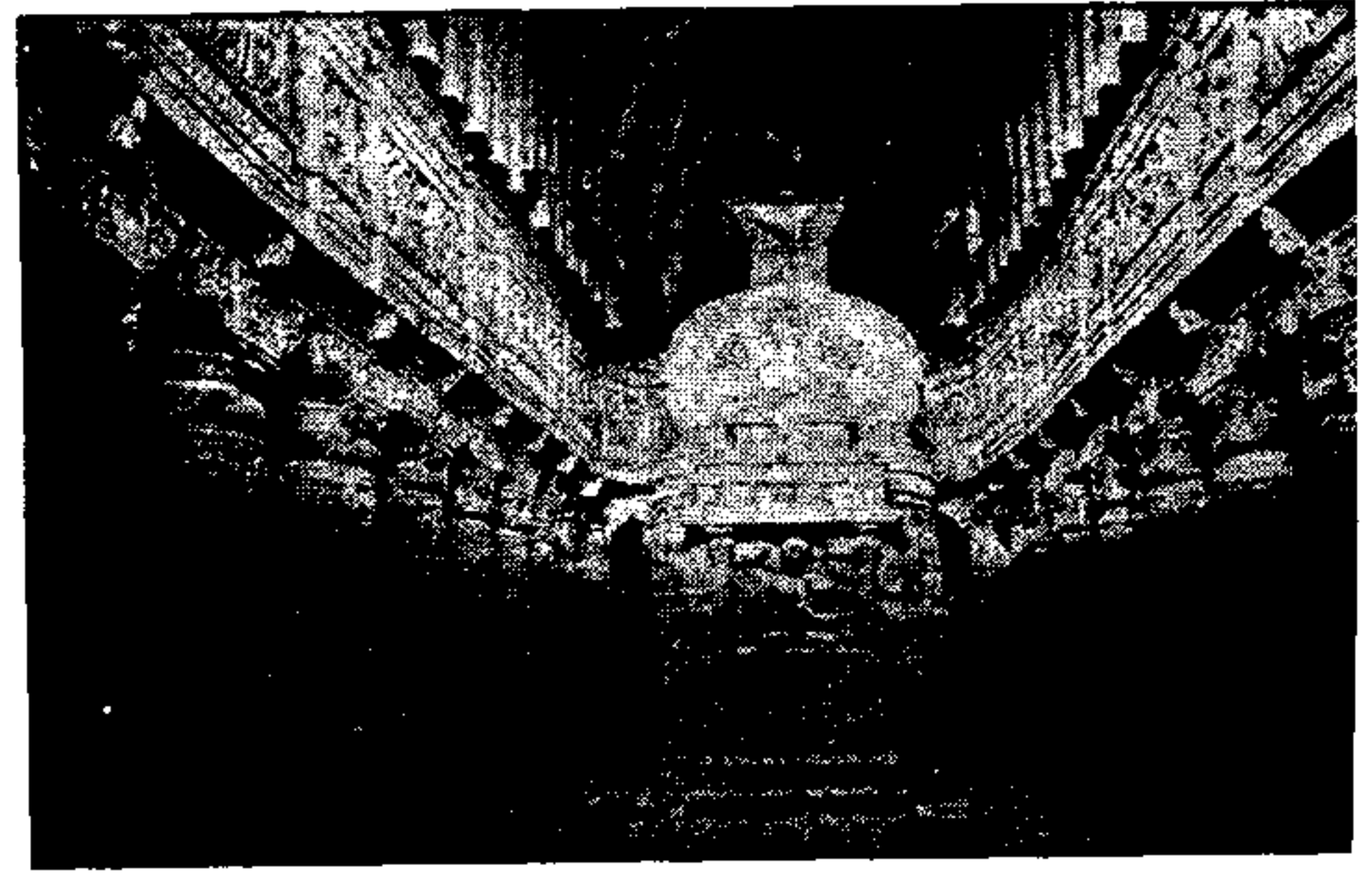
good. Such a distinction is the very foundation and starting point of spiritual inquiry. Although human beings naturally seek happiness and fulfilment and desire to avoid suffering, they do not innately understand which lines of conduct lead to genuine happiness and which eventuate in suffering. Hence, lacking immediate insight into the nature of their genuine good, they are easily beguiled by the mind's distorted views into striving after false goods: goals that attract us with sweet promises of fulfilment but in the end leave us inwardly bankrupt, empty and miserable. The great religious founders, the prophets, saints, and sages, come into our midst for the purpose of calling us back from our erroneous quest. Their task is to inform us that the very promises of our unilluminated quest for the good are mistaken, and to testify that the attainment of our genuine good requires that we set out in an utterly different direction from that in which we had hitherto been moving.

The great religions differ vastly in their precise conceptions of the ultimate goal of the spiritual quest, and these conceptions cannot be easily melded into a single modern 'universal religion' without losing much that is of major importance. I would contend, however, that despite their differences in doctrine and beliefs, in precepts and prescriptions, the great spiritual traditions concur on a central intuition which offers the key to the regenera-

tion of humanity in the global age. This intuition is the insight that the achievement of the highest human good—the attainment of liberation, redemption, or deliverance—requires the overcoming of the self-seeking ego-consciousness as the basic standpoint from which we determine our values and our modes of active engagement in the world. As long as our inner life remains organized around the standpoint of ego, as long as we cling to our finite personal self as an ultimate or self-sufficient reference point, for so long our existence will be fraught with conflict and friction, both internally and externally. The conception of separate selfhood, from the religious perspective, is the deep spring of the relentless drive to accumulate wealth and possessions, to achieve status and power, to subjugate nature, and to dominate our fellow human beings. All these are projects by means of which the fictitious ego attempts to substantiate to itself and others its own suspect claims to be real.

What unites the great religions beyond their manifest differences is the conviction that man's highest good can only be realized by dissolving the illusion of the ultimacy and self-sufficiency of the ego. Thus from a spiritual perspective, humanity's redemption in the global era depends on a large-scale transformation of human consciousness, a transformation difficult but imperative. Even though it may be only the saints and sages who win the final victory over the small self, the essential task of religion is to point us in the direction leading to that exalted achievement. For it is only by walking in that direction that we can hope to realize our own final good as well as to promote the welfare of the wider human community.

Perhaps the distinctive contribution that the Buddha's teaching can make to helping us resolve the great dilemmas facing us today lies in the astute psychological analysis it offers of our existential plight and in its pragmatic, ethically ennobling discipline. Despite its remote origins in the Ganges plains in the



Chaitya hall

5th century BC, the Buddha's teaching—called the Dhamma—bears the markings of a strikingly modern empirical realism. The Buddha does not begin his doctrine with theological presuppositions or even with a belief in a God as the creator and ruler of the cosmos. He begins directly with the human situation in its concrete immediacy, focusing the beam of his attention on the pervasive problem at its hub, the problem of *dukkha* or suffering. The aim of his teaching is to show the path of deliverance from suffering, and he approaches this task by way of a penetrating investigation of the problem's cause. This cause he locates nowhere else than within our own mind, and hence it is the mind that claims the front position in the entire map of the Buddha's path to salvation. The path begins with the unenlightened mind, the mind governed by ignorance and selfish craving; it culminates in the liberated mind, the mind purified from all moral and intellectual defilements and released from the very boundaries of contingent existence. Between these two poles, the starting point and the goal, lies the path itself. This is a precisely defined, comprehensive system of self-training which unfolds through the three stages of moral conduct, mental purification, and insight into the universal truths of existence.

The relevance that this outline of the Buddha's teaching bears for our globalized world situation follows especially from the Buddha's diagnosis of the cause of suffering.

The Buddha explains that the hidden springs of human suffering, in both the personal and social dimensions of our lives, consist of three mental factors called the three unwholesome roots. These three roots—which may be regarded as the three prongs of the ego-consciousness—are greed, hatred, and delusion. The aim of the Buddhist spiritual path, the practice of the Dhamma, is to gradually subdue these three evil roots as they permeate our conduct, thoughts, and emotions, and then finally, by means of insight, to eradicate them at the most fundamental level.

The positive side of the Buddhist discipline consists in the cultivation of those mental factors that are directly opposed to the unwholesome roots. These factors, their specific antidotes, are called the three good or wholesome roots, namely: (a) *non-greed*, which is expressed as generosity, detachment, and contentment; (b) *non-hatred*, which becomes manifested as loving-kindness, compassion, patience, and forgiveness; (c) *non-delusion*, which arises as wisdom, insight, and understanding.

If we contemplate, in the light of the Buddhist analysis, the dangers that hang over us in our globalized world order, it will become clear that these dangers have assumed such menacing proportions due to the unrestrained proliferation of greed, hatred, and delusion as the basis of human conduct. It is not that these dark forces of the mind were first awakened with the Industrial Revolution; far to the contrary, they have been the deep springs of so much suffering and desolation since time immemorial. But the one-sided development of humankind—the development of outward control over nature, coupled with the almost complete neglect of any attempts to achieve self-understanding—has today given the unwholesome roots a power unprecedented in past history, an awesome power that veers ever closer to the catastrophic.

Through the prevalence of *greed* the world has become transformed into a global



Zen monks in meditation

marketplace where human beings are reduced to the status of suppliers and consumers, and where materialistic desires are provoked at volatile intensities. Through the prevalence of *hatred*—which is often kindled by competing interests governed by greed—national, racial, and ethnic differences become the breeding ground of suspicion and enmity, exploding in violence and destruction, in cruelty and brutality, in endless cycles of revenge. *Delusion* sustains the other two unwholesome roots by giving rise to false beliefs, dogmatic views, and philosophical ideologies devised in order to promote and justify patterns of conduct motivated by greed and hatred. Although the reign of totalitarian ideology now appears to be ending, in the new era marked by the triumph of the free-market economy perhaps the most pernicious delusion is the belief that the path to human fulfilment lies in the acquisition of material goods and the uninhibited indulgence in sensual pleasure. Such delusions can only provoke more and more greed, engendering more reckless degrees of selfishness, and from the clash of the self-seeking factions the result will necessarily be strife and violence.

If there is any validity in the Buddhist diagnosis of the human situation, the task incumbent on humankind today stands forth with perfect clarity. The entire drive of civilization, since the time of the European Renaissance, has been towards the conquest and mastery of the external world. Science probes ever more deeply into the hidden secrets of matter and life, while technology and industry combine forces to harness the discoveries of science for their practical applications. No doubt science and technology have made appreciable contributions towards alleviating human misery and have vastly improved the quality of our lives. Yet because the human mind, the ultimate agent behind all the monumental achievements of science, has pitifully neglected itself, our patterns of perception, motivations, and drives still move in the same dark channels in which they moved in earlier centuries—the channels of greed, hatred, and delusion—only now equipped with more powerful instruments of destruction. As long as we continue to shirk the task of turning our attention within, towards the understanding and mastery of our own minds, our impressive accomplishments in the external sphere will fail to yield their intended fruits. While at one level they make life safer and more comfortable, at another level they will drag along unintended negative consequences of increasing severity and peril.

For the human race to flourish in the global age, and to live together happily and peacefully on this shrinking planet, the inescapable challenge facing us is that of coming to understand and transform ourselves. It is



A Japanese Buddhist monastery

here that the Buddha's teaching becomes especially timely, even for those who are not prepared to embrace the full range of Buddhist religious faith and philosophical doctrine. In its diagnosis of greed, hatred, and delusion as the underlying causes of human suffering, both privately and collectively, the Buddha-Dhamma enables us to see the hidden roots of our predicament. By presenting a practical path of training which helps us to remove what is harmful and destructive, and to foster the growth of what is fruitful and beneficial, the teaching offers us an effective remedy for tackling the problems of the globe in the one place where they are most directly accessible to us—in our own minds. Because it places the burden of responsibility for our redemption on ourselves, calling for personal effort and energetic application to the taming of the mind, the Buddha's teaching may have a bitter edge. But by providing an acute diagnosis of our illness and a precise path to deliverance, it also offers us in this global era an elevating message of hope. □

Arise! Be not negligent! Lead a righteous life. The righteous live happily both in this world and in the next. Blind is this world; wherein only a few are they who possess insight. Only a few are they who go to realms of bliss like birds that escape from a net. Overcome anger by loving-kindness, evil by good; overcome the miser by generosity and liars by truth.

—*The Dhammapada*

From Roman Church to Universal Christianity

FR JOHN B. CHETHIMATTAM, CMI

Here is a brilliant attempt from a great scholar of the Roman Catholic Church (of the Carmelites of Mary Immaculate Order) to analyse Christian thought, its development and global impact during the previous millennium. Fr Chethimattam has been endeavouring tirelessly to further the cause of a pluralistic approach to religion. Of his works, Experience and Philosophy is well known.

Out from the Dark Ages

For those who identified Christianity with European civilization, the close of the second millennium of its existence is proving a great disappointment. From a strictly Roman and European institution, the Church, at the end of the twentieth century, is proving itself a universal reality. Starting from the climax of the political power of the Roman popes at the beginning of the eleventh century, the one thousand years have proved to be a struggle away from the confining forces of the Roman and European Christianity. Beginning with the Crusades, through the Scholastic theology deeply influenced by Greek philosophy, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution, Christian thought culminated in the world-vision of Vatican II. The doors and windows opened by Pope John XXIII are still bringing in a whirlwind of thinking that embraces all religions.

In the nineteenth century, the theologian Schleiermacher defined the scope of Christian missionary activity as preaching not merely the naked gospel of Jesus of Nazareth, but rather the European civilization that was the concrete expression and object lesson of Christian faith. Even today there are people like Cardinal Ratzinger who speak in the same vein. According to him 'it is not only the case that the convergence of mankind toward a single community with a common life and destiny is unstoppable because...the diffusion of technological civilization is irrevoca-

ble.'¹ For the people of Latin America, Africa or Asia to stick with their religious cultures would be suicidal, because it would exclude them from natural science and technology which originated in the West. These would eventually fall prey to the influence of secularism. The superior religious cultures of the East are simply invited to 'open dialogue with the universality of Christian faith.' But what is forgotten is that all religions, including the primitive ones, and all the advances in science and technology are the common heritage of all human beings, and that science and technology too are culturally conditioned.

The second millennium was prepared by the Dark Ages after the fall of the Roman Empire. With the invasion of German tribes from the north all political and social institutions broke down, and Europe entered into a period of self-reflection. The only stable institution was the Christian Church led by the popes. The Muslims had conquered the whole of Middle East and north Africa and were threatening Europe itself. Under the vigorous leadership of the popes, Christian princes and barons, who had stepped into the shoes of Roman provincial officials, put up a good fight and the Muhammadans were

1. J. Ratzinger, 'Christian Faith and the Challenge of Cultures' in *Origins* (1995), 24.41, pp. 679-86. This was a talk given at a Hong Kong cultural meeting.



Madonna and the Child

stopped at the frontiers of Europe. The leaders of the northern tribes attacking Europe were baptized, and they themselves turned against the other tribes attacking Europe. Charlemagne, the leader of the Franks, was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Leo III. Once this was accomplished, the tendency was to turn the tables on the Muslims. The Turks who had become Muslims had occupied Palestine, the Holy Land of Christians. So the popes appealed to the barons of Europe to launch the Crusades. The year in which Pope Gregory VII died saw the expulsion of Muslims from Toledo, the holy city of Spain, and the setting out of European princes on the First Crusade on their victorious journey to the East. Benedictine monks went about preaching the need to liberate the land of Christ's birth from Arab domination. This helped very much to turn the attention of European nobles and barons from their internecine quarrels after the break-up of the Frankish empire to face a common enemy.

*From Roman Structure
to Intellectual Christianity*

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were eight Crusades in all. In their military objective the Crusades were not a success. But culturally they marked the beginning of a new era. Europeans came in contact with Eastern peoples and a good many commercial cities came up in the Middle East for exchange of goods between Europe and the

East. Greece was rediscovered as the birth-place of European civilization. The 'pagan' Aristotle, whose works were condemned and prohibited by ecclesiastical authorities, became the hottest stuff in academic curricula in Christian universities of Europe to attract students.

This input from Greek thinking caused an intellectual explosion in Christian theology. A good many European scholars like Albert, Aquinas and Bonaventure freely used Aristotle's philosophy to give a systematic exposition of Christian religion. Instead of a search into the existence and nature of God as Peter Lombard had explained earlier, Aquinas showed that theology was essentially a study of the emergence of creatures from God and their final return to Him through the exercise of their highest faculties. God was the meaning of human life since, as Aristotle stated, the divine Thought thinking itself drew all things to itself through knowledge and love. Over against Augustine's Platonic philosophy that every act of human knowledge was an illumination from the divine Light, Aquinas followed the trend set by Dionysius that the first instalment of the ray from the divine Good was human nature itself. Hence it is through the activities of the



Resurrection of Christ

human faculties of intellect and will that even the supernatural activities of faith and charity have to be exercised. A great many systematic treatises on faith showed that religion was not a blind submission to ecclesiastical authority but the conscious and free self-direction of humans to attain the status of children of God, opened out to them through the incarnation of the Son of God as Jesus of Nazareth. Naturally, this intellectual interest in religion degenerated into trivial questions, and people felt that the aesthetic side of human life was neglected.

In Italy there began a rediscovery of art. In contrast to Greek and Byzantine art forms that indulged in transcendentalism, there emerged a genuine human art under the leadership of Michelangelo, Raphael and many others generously encouraged by the popes of the Renaissance period. Dante wrote his *Divine Comedy* and Petrarch, a true humanist, initiated the lyric poems. But this aestheticism also had its decline. Popes spent enormous amounts in building colossal cathedrals like St Peter's Basilica in Rome. Such artistic and architectural creations needed money, and gave origin to questionable methods of fund raising. Popes started granting 'indulgences' to those who made financial contributions. Indulgence was the remission of temporal punishments traditionally imposed by ecclesiastical authorities for sins, which remained even after their sacramental absolution. This was a spiritual grant which the supreme head of the Church could make in view of the enormous fund of its spiritual resources. But when this spiritual grant was tied to money it led to all kinds of abuses. Pope Julius II needed money to start the construction of St Peter's in Rome, and Leo X enormous amounts to complete it. Both had recourse to the inducement of granting indulgences to solicit donations. Similarly, the cult of relics of saints and of statues was promoted to encourage offerings. There were unholy alliances between bankers and clerics to share the profits from the granting of indulgences.

When this aesthetic side of religion got too far it started a strong reaction of reform within the Christian Church.

The Reformation

On 31 October 1517, Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, had organized in the small town of Wittenberg in Germany a grand exhibition of relics of saints and pious articles of devotion which he had collected from all over the world; and a large number of indulgences were attached to the veneration of these articles. The same morning, Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk, nailed to the door of the castle's chapel in the town ninety-five theses written in scholastic Latin condemning the sale of indulgences and questioning the authority of the pope to grant them. It cut at the roots of traditional popular religious outlook, showing in its place a learned, humanistic, rational, skeptical intellectual movement. This was a crisis which shook Western Christianity and destroyed forever the old medieval unity of faith. In fact, it accelerated the growth of individual nations away from the unifying force of papal authority. The complaints of the 'Protestants' (so called because they protested against the intervention of the Holy Roman Emperor against Luther)



Martin Luther burning the papal bull

were quite legitimate. But there was no one to listen to him.

Martin Luther's intention was spiritual, to call all back to the purity of faith in the Word of God found in the Bible. But he soon found himself entangled in the national movement of grievance against Rome, in which each king dictated the type of Christianity his subjects had to follow. The political divisions tended to support themselves with doctrinal divisions. Thus Luther preached a new doctrine about the Eucharist, that men were saved not by observance of the sacraments but by faith alone. This was an individualistic position that struck at the root of the traditional teaching which held that everyone had to find his salvation in the Church, the community of faith. In Switzerland, John Calvin preached the corruption of human will through original sin and the salvation only of those predestined by God. In England, Henry VIII defended the Christian faith against Luther in the beginning; later, in order to dissolve the first of his six marriages, he declared himself the head of the Church of England, separate from Rome. Roman authorities finally woke up to set religious matters right and started the Counter-Reformation through the Council of Trent. However, the council did not restore the temporal authority of the popes but only strengthened the authority of lay leaders over their subjects.

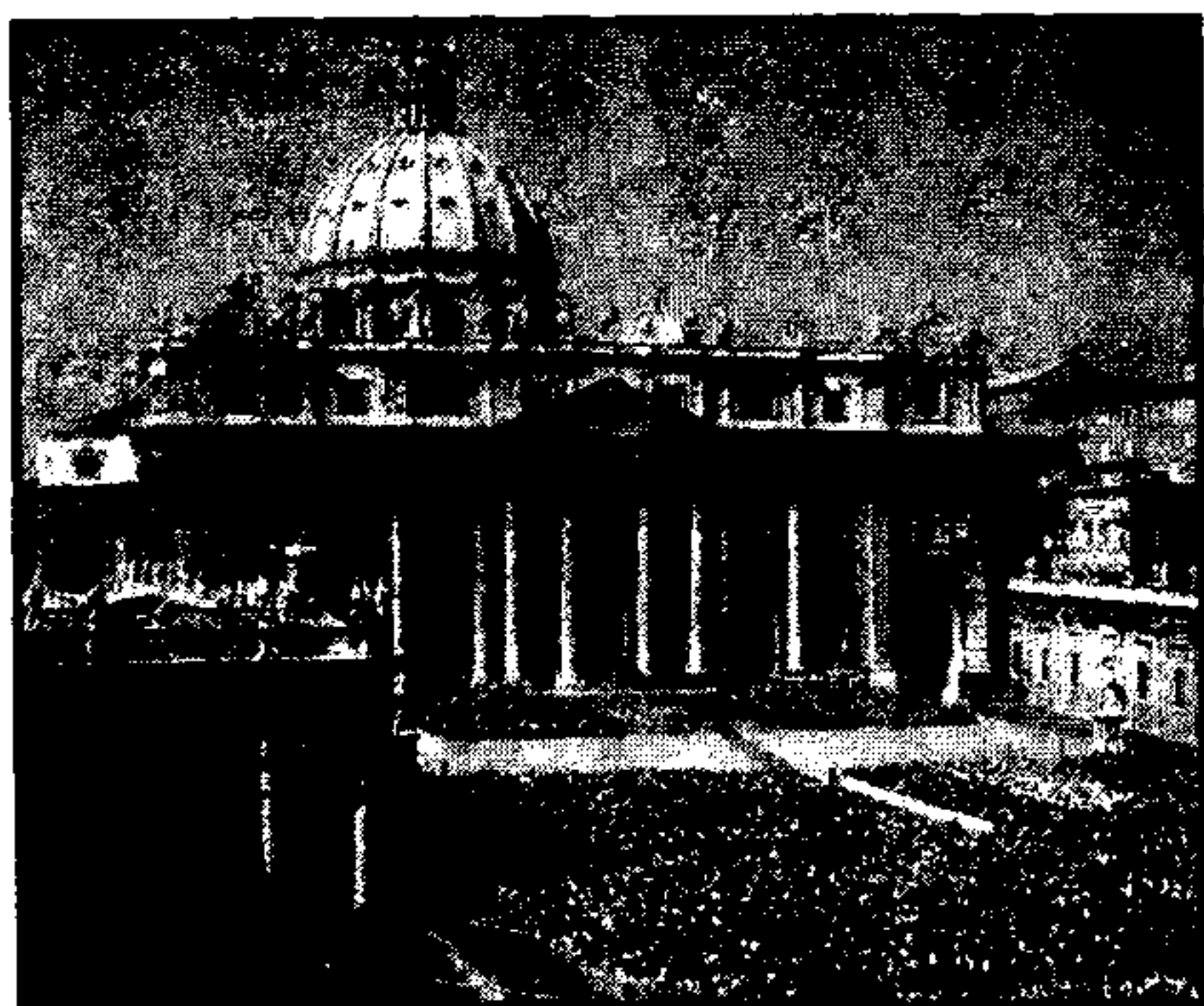
Industrial Revolution

According to Max Weber the Industrial Revolution was a direct result of the Protestant revolution. Freed from ecclesiastical control, people felt free to explore the nature of things. The modern era, starting with the sixteenth century, found a new mood in the world. As T. White, an anthropologist, points out, science started in India. The decimal system was invented in India. Passing through the Arabs it came to be known in the West as Arabic numbers and became the groundwork of Western mathematics. Similarly, around 1000 CE Bhaskara, the Indian mathematician, proposed the possibility of perpetual motion.

While in India it remained a mystical idea concerning the phenomenal world as the shadow of the Eternal, in fifty years it passed to the Arabs and in another hundred reached Europe. There it gave origin to the pump and the flywheel. The intuitive vision of the Indians and the systematic vision of the Middle East became the organizing practical reason of Europe. Emphasis was shifted from the world of essences of the Greeks to the world of lived experience, and empirical sciences were given the greatest emphasis. Science based on technology gained the highest priority among all fields of human knowledge. Going from the limited regular profit from nature-based agriculture, people wanted to derive maximum profit from man-made instruments of production. The compass and other means of navigation sent Europeans into the wide ocean looking for new lands. There was confidence that man by himself could find answers to all his questions, and a sense of infinite progress was the guiding light of all human endeavour. These were the four pillars of modernity that inaugurated the scientific and industrial revolution. The Industrial Revolution started around 1785 in England and then spread to continental Europe. Revolution first started in the textile mills, then spread to transportation—including railways.

The mythical patterns for the modern world were provided by modern science. It has a certain continuity with the biblical view of the world as created by a rational God, who has definite plans to execute and clear goals to achieve. In fact, the scientific tone of European thought 'comes from the medieval insistence on the rationality of God, conceived as with the passion and energy of Jehovah and with the rationality of the Greek philosopher.'² People attribute to this scientific spirit all the virtues of our modern liberal democracy such as the sense of independence, origi-

2. A.N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York: Free Press), Chapter 3.



St Peter's Basilica

ality, dissent, value of expression, tolerance, and mutual respect. The current vices were said to be cultural holdovers from a pre-modern, pre-scientific, credulous age.³

Modernity had a number of definite traits. First of all, it was committed to objective evidence. Mass and movements as objects of several senses had greater value than colour, sound and smell, which had only one sense. Secondly, science supposes that things are just aggregates of tiny particles and goes on analysing things endlessly until it comes to the atom, the basic unit. Thirdly, it has a disregard for personality and its subjective traits, and fuels a consistent attack against the humanistic visions of the universe. On the whole, at the heart of modernity was an attempt to achieve something transcending cultural, historical and personal bias. This commitment to objectivity was reflected in Christian religion too. Protestantism divided into many churches and sects on the basis of doctrinal differences of one kind or another. In the Catholic Church strict conformity to orthodox faith was maintained by the definitions of the Council of Trent and of Vatican I. Firm adherence to doctrines revealed in the Scripture and tradition of the Church, and jealously guarded by the teaching authority of the Church, was considered an essential

condition for salvation.

But man's industrial creativity also reached a self-defeating climax. The possibility of infinite progress proved to be an illusion. The criteria of scientific truth are the principles of verifiability (the possibility of artificially experimenting a conclusion under controlled conditions) and falsifiability (under what conditions a theory can be shown to be false). But in actual practice both these principles are applicable only in a few obvious cases. When one proceeds to the sub-atomic world, the very tools like light and magnetic field with which one tries to calculate phenomena will only serve to distort them, and perhaps there is no definite rule why a particular atom should be emitted by a radioactive substance at a particular moment. That nature is well-ordered and that unity is its basic law are arbitrary assumptions. In fact, the technological revolution that led humanity to discover atomic energy is threatening to blow up the globe and destroy life itself. This is leading humanity towards a new self-understanding.

The World of Post-Modernity

Modernity, with its world-controlling adventure, had built its own inner world centred in the 'I think, so I am' of Descartes. At the beginning of the seventeenth century he shifted the focus of philosophy from the world of essence out there to the inner consciousness of man. While Immanuel Kant tried to derive all the rules of truth from the laws of autonomous reason and all morality from the categorical imperative of a Will that was its own law, Hegel saw a dynamic and dialectically evolving consciousness that formed all things including God himself. Karl Marx with the same universalist ideology tried to make Hegel stand on his head by stating that all things evolved from matter and its forces with the immutable laws of history. But post-modernity has pulled down all the pillars of modernity and put an end to all these global visions. Science based on technology has reached an impasse of suicidal

3. Cf. J. Bronowski, *Science and Human Values* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 66-71.



St. Teresa

destructivity. Bureaucratic reason and its manipulations are today suspect. Maximization of profit is feared to be heading towards killing the goose that lays the golden egg of our daily existence. Against modernity's dogmatism and the tendency to build neat systems, thinkers like Kierkegaard, Nietzsche and Dostoevsky tried to restore life to its original difficulty. This marked a new era of Christian faith away from the fights over orthodoxy and heresy occasioned by the Protestant Reformation. They wanted to help Western Christianity get away from the Greek mould in which it was stuck for centuries. For example, Kierkegaard showed that repetition was not simply going back to the same old idea of the Greeks, for whom eternity was in the back and every repetition was a recollection. Instead, any repetition is a new adventure, a new discovery.⁴ Everyone is compelled to look at life circumspectly, appreciate its joys, suffer its pains, endure its sorrows, act decisively and cope with the consequences with unflagging resolution.⁵

The New Christian Vision of Vatican II

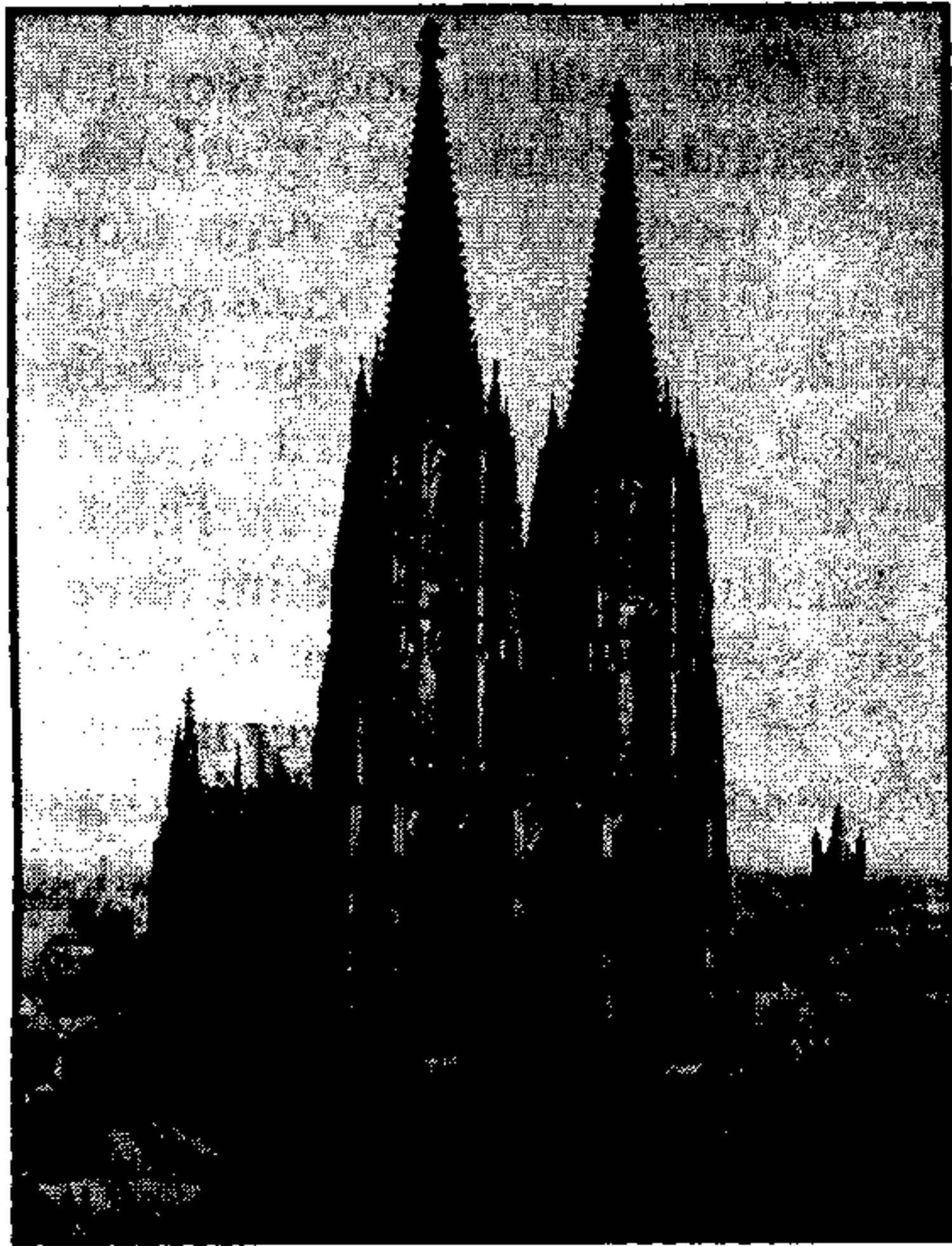
It was in the spirit of post-modernity that

the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church met in Rome and formulated its vision. It was not convoked to condemn any errors or heretics as in the past ecumenical councils but rather to give a positive vision at the end of the second millennium. It defined the image of the Church as a sacrament of salvation, a symbol of human unity with the tri-personal God, and liturgy as the worship of all human beings united in the one Son of God become a human being and uniting the whole world with himself. It affirms the relevance of all religions in the one divine plan for human salvation and the religious freedom of everyone. Christian scripture does not constitute any esoteric doctrine but has a unity with God's self-disclosure in creation and in every event of human history. From this new vision there emerge a number of points that appeal to people of all faiths.

First of all in the document on the approach to other religions, Vatican II states that what unites all religions is the search for answers to the basic existential questions of human life: whence is human life, what is its meaning and goal, what the relevance of suffering, and the like. Different religions provide different solutions to these problems. Hinduism emphasizes the need for contemplation of God, the Reality; Buddhism places the stress on the emptiness of the phenomenal world; Islam on the importance of prophetism and the observance of God's Law in God's world; and Judaism points to God's intervention in history through what he said and did. These answers do not contradict one another but are rather complementary. One thing that stands out in today's religious pluralism, a fact which no one can deny or eliminate, is that religions do not happen in isolation. Every religion appears in interaction with other religions. Christianity appeared as a reform movement in Judaism even as Buddhism in Hinduism. Christianity's personalist approach to God needs to be maintained in tension with the emptiness and *anatta* doctrine of Buddhism so as to impart its correct

4. S. Kierkegaard, *Repetition: An Essay in Experimental Psychology*, trans. Walter Lowrie (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 33.

5. S. Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Dread*, trans. Walter Lowrie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 94.



A Gothic Cathedral

sense to human beings.

A third point emphasized by Christianity is that the basic element of religion is faith, the free and unmerited gift of God to all his children. Every religion tries to interpret this faith in its own way: Hinduism the metaphysical reality of the experience of God, who is One without a second; Islam the revelation of the Law of God; and Buddhism the psychological liberation from the phenomenal world. Christianity, emphasizing the historical dimension of faith, places the accent on the definitive entry of the creative Logos into human history as Jesus of Nazareth. It says that only through the one Son of God can human beings become sons and daughters of God.

The fourth point of contact between religions is scripture. Whether one looks at the holy book as the intuitive experience of sages put in human words, or as the revealed Law of God, or as religious teachings handed down by tradition, or as having been written under divine inspiration, all admit that it is not a purely human product but a gift of the divine Spirit. Another important point recognized by Christianity is the unity of human history and the unity of the divine plan of salvation for all human beings. So Jesus, Bud-

dha, Muhammad and other religious leaders and their religious systems are all the common heritage of humanity. Definitely, they are not all saying the same thing nor making the same demands. But they are all equally available to all human beings, and all are called to make their decision with regard to the demand of faith made by these religious leaders.

Conclusion

At the end of the second millennium Christianity finds itself in an entirely new situation. The meaning of truth itself has radically changed. The early idea of truth was conformity of our ideas to reality as it is out there. Today, language is rather performative than conformative. Without a grasp of reality as it is in itself, we are groping towards it with our actions. The grand stories that provided a global picture of a unified world have disappeared in both science and religion. Christianity is returning from the illusion of the Pax Romana bequeathed to it by the Roman Empire to its original home of the village community. There, under the local bishop and its homely eucharist, it had found everything necessary for the salvation of its members. Today it is rediscovering once again that the local eucharistic community is the 'catholic' Church. Instead of the global meaning one was looking for, one discovers that meaning is produced locally in accordance with the adjustable and fragmentary rules of the local community. The base community for a Christian is the closely knit community of all believers in a place, since everyone belongs to God's plan of salvation for all. Since even religion is culturally conditioned, looking for an adequate expression of God-given faith, one discovers a plurality of worldviews both available and competing with each other. So instead of seeking conformity with a faraway global picture, one has to look for what is to be done immediately. The post-modern Christian is forced to ponder on the provisional options one has to make and realize that these are open to further revision. The

formulation of truth is through the validity of one's groping through the present light. To commit oneself once and for all to a single and exclusive truth is no longer acceptable to a post-modern person. Theoretical formulation comes only at the end of an appropriate praxis under the guidance of the Spirit of God, and even the most erudite scholar feels it imperative to change his formulation as the receiving end of God's word keeps changing.

As the post-modern philosopher Lyotard said about the scientific world, in one's need to act promptly according to one's faith, one cannot wait for all discussions to come to a conclusion and a grand global view to emerge.⁶ One cannot rely on past metaphysical thinking. Enterprises grow more diversified and along with them the web of social organization is drawn into greater complexification. Hence, instead of withdrawing into one's own fund of past Christian experience,

one has to work with all forces for God to accomplish God's will in God's world. What gives one confidence in this situation is that the Spirit of God and Jesus risen from the dead are actually present in one's own heart.

This leads to a certain globalization of faith itself. It is the same Spirit of God that speaks to us from every believer. The Hindu and the Buddhist and the Muslim have each something positive to tell from his own faith tradition, and all find themselves in the same unsettled condition where the past does not have the final word. This means that to be relevant to the post-modern world each has to collaborate with every one else. From the old situation in which everyone had his centre in faith and a variety of peripheries to express that faith, religions have moved to a new situation where the peripheries have disappeared and the centre is everywhere. For a Christian to be true to his own faith, he has to be attentive to the voice of God coming from every corner and confidently proclaim it, not in competition but in collaboration with everyone else. □

6. J.F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), n. 63, p. xxiv.

A brother named John came from the coast to Father Philimon and, clasping his feet, said to him: 'What shall I do to be saved? For my intellect vacillates to and fro and strays after all the wrong things.' After a pause, the father replied: 'This is one of the outer passions and it stays with you because you still have not acquired a perfect longing for God. The warmth of this longing and of the knowledge of God has not yet come to you.' The brother said to him: 'What shall I do, father?' Abba Philimon replied: 'Meditate inwardly for a while, deep in your heart; for this can cleanse your intellect of these things.' The brother, not understanding what was said, asked the Elder: 'What is inward meditation, father?' The Elder replied: 'Keep watch in your heart; and with watchfulness say in your mind with awe and trembling: "Lord, have mercy upon me." For this is the advice which the blessed Diadochos gave to beginners.' The Elder also said to him: 'You have had a brief taste of stillness and inner work, and have experienced the sweetness that comes from them. This is what you should always be doing in your heart: whether eating or drinking, in company or outside your cell, or on a journey, repeat that prayer with a watchful mind and an undeflected intellect; also, chant and meditate on prayers and psalms. Even when carrying out needful tasks, do not let your intellect be idle but keep it meditating inwardly and praying.

—from *The Philokalia*

Islamic Millennium—A Personal View

PROF HOSSAINUR RAHMAN

Prof Hossainur Rahman, PhD, is a well-known figure in the field of interreligious understanding. Formerly Professor and Head of the Department of History, Hooghly Mohsin College, West Bengal, Prof Rahman is presently Secretary, Centre for Hindu-Muslim Understanding. His popular works include Hindu-Muslim Relations in Bengal (1905-1947), Sri Ramakrishna: The Symbol of Harmony of Religions and India Talk apart from many books in Bengali. Currently engaged in freelance writing, Prof Rahman writes in several Indian journals on Swami Vivekananda, Indian culture and history, and the sociology of Islam.

The message of Islam was sent to the world fourteen centuries ago. Does it need reinterpretation? Is it not meant for the whole world and for all time? The answer is in the affirmative. Even if a message is true, and in a sense eternal, it is...essential to understand it in accordance with the science, philosophy, psychology, metaphysics, and theology of the modern world; nay, the sum total of the world's thinking, and its blazing light should be brought to bear upon it.

In the history of man, it is only some ten thousand years ago that he conceived the idea of certain divinities as ruling his destiny. The stars in the sky, the animals in the forest, the birds in the air, the reptiles on the earth, the fishes in the sea contained supernatural beings endued with the power to harm, and all over the world man worshipped these deities, and by sacrifices, chants, religious practices, ritual and dancing, he tried to ward off the evil. Some five thousand years later, that is, only five thousand years ago, in Mesopotamia or thereabouts, and also in India, man for the first time in recorded history came to believe that it was not a thousand deities, but one supreme Being, the One, the Brahman, the Absolute, the Creator, Ram, or Rahim, by whatever

name you call It, which was the one object of worship. After a prolonged tribulation of the spirit came this great discovery, probably the greatest single discovery in the history of man. It is greater than the discovery of zero, of fire, of iron, of relativity, of any known thing. The concept itself is unique; it has a mysterious and compelling power; it revivifies broken spirits, it gives meaning to life, it makes man hear that which he cannot hear, makes man know that which he cannot know. It does not depend upon human science and its changing moods; it is an eternal concept, not liable to change, decay or imperfection. This message has often come to man through the vibrant spirit of a sensitive soul and one among the elect was the Prophet Muhammad.

—Asaf A.A. Fyzee¹

Asaf A.A. Fyzee ardently believes that the unity of Godhead and everlasting value of the Koran are the greatest assets of humankind. He also believes, with reason and conviction, that 'The Koran is the glory of Arabic, and Arabic the pride of the Koran.' He gives one example:

1. Asaf A.A. Fyzee, *A Modern Approach to Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 92. [Hereafter *Modern Approach*.]

And when the hills are moved,
 And when the wild beasts are herded
 together,
 And when the seas rise,
 And when the souls are reunited,
 And the girl-child that was buried
 is asked
 For what sin she was slain,
 And the pages are laid open,
 And when the sky is torn away,
 And when the hell is lighted,
 And when the garden is brought nigh,
 (Then) every soul will know
 what it hath made ready,
 Oh, but I call to witness the planets,
 The stars which rise and set,
 And the close of night,
 And the break of morning,
 That this is in truth the word
 of an honoured messenger,
 Mighty, established in the presence
 of the Lord of the Throne,
 (One) to be obeyed, and trustworthy....²

Fyzee argues in this way: The belief in the existence of God is based on experience. It can never be proved, nor can it be disproved. All this means that religion is neither argument nor mere talk. It is not science either. It is a matter of total submission; surrender to God, the Almighty. It is a matter of realization. It is a journey within, seeking God's direction and guidance in every sphere of man's life. To paraphrase Fyzee, the greatest single discovery of man is that there is no intermediate person between God and man. Islam does not provide scope for priestcraft. However, there was need to communicate God's instructions to man. Language is always 'human' and 'variable'. That is, it is subject to change. The classical Arab language has undergone a sea change over the centuries. Hence no language remains static. Fyzee says, 'But we Muslims believe that the central message will last longer than its lan-

guage, and that is the belief in God.' 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'³ At this point, Fyzee flourishes in his reasoning and makes a strong plea:

Therefore, to me it is clear that we cannot go 'back' to the Koran, we have to go 'forward' with it. I wish to understand the Koran as it was understood by the Arabs of the time of the Prophet only to reinterpret it and apply it to my conditions of life and to believe in it, so far as it appeals to me, a twentieth century man. I cannot be called upon to live in the desert, to traverse it on camel back, to eat locusts, to indulge in vendetta, to wear a beard and a cloak, and to cultivate a pseud-Arab mentality. I must distinguish between the husk and the kernel of religion, between law and legend. I am bound to understand and accept the message of Islam as a modern man, and not as one who lived centuries ago. I respect authority, but cannot accept it 'without how' (*bila kaufa*) in the matter of conscience.

He goes on to say what he wants to, and we must listen to him:

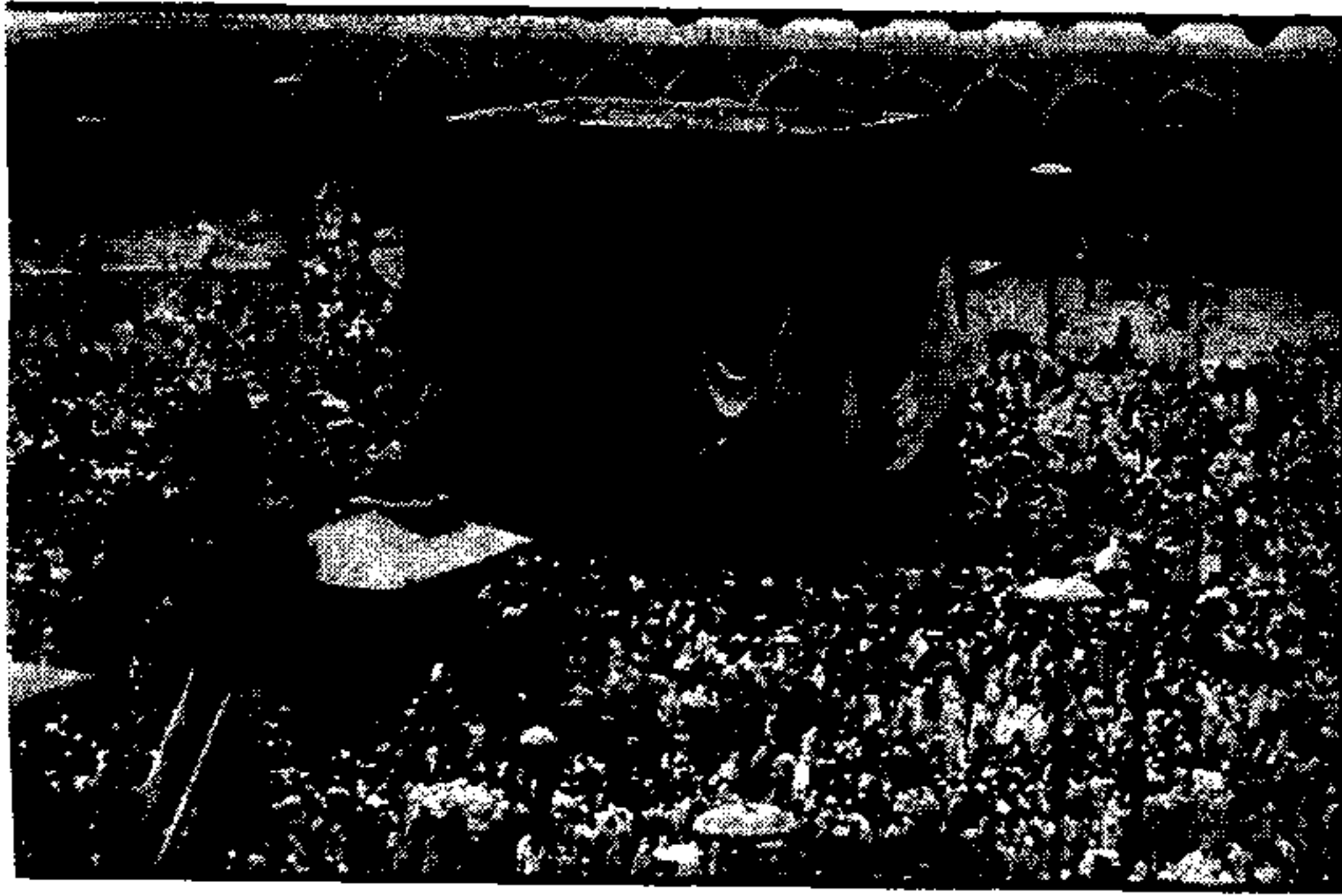
Islam is based on the Koran, and the Koran is to be interpreted in its historical setting and on chronological principles. We must first study the main principles of Judaism and Christianity before approaching Islam, beginning with a sympathetic understanding of the religion of the Semites. It is only when Judaism and Christianity are comprehended fully in their historical setting that the message of the Prophet and its meaning become clear.⁴

Indian Islam has produced outstanding Islamists during the last millennium. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad certainly tops the list. Asaf A.A. Fyzee, Mohammed Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and Mohammed Ajmal Khan

2. M. Pickthall, *Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (London, 1930), Sura 81.

3. *St Matthew*, 24.35.

4. *Modern Approach*, p. 95.



Holy Kaba

deserve special mention. Coming back to Asaf Fyzee, he explains the Islamic situation in India: '...the Indian Muslim has to test and compare his faith and actions with those of his other compatriots.... An interpretation enjoys the advantage of a common religious life and a shared mystical experience, which militates against bigotry and fanaticism, and makes for eclecticism and catholicity. These are the great advantages for a world religion such as Islam.'⁵ An Azad or a Fyzee would have understood the spirit behind Arnold Toynbee's words, 'Modern man cannot live without religion.' But what kind of religion is it? Is it the kind of religion we see around us everyday? Fortunately not. Toynbee and others did not mean a religious sect by 'religion'. What they meant was a kind of inner certainty which provides an anchor against the sense of alienation from oneself. To quote Azad's words, 'There is no conviction in my heart which the thorns of doubt failed to pierce: there is faith in my soul which has not been subjected to all the conspiracies of disbelief.'⁶ Azad's commentary on the Koran, *Tarjuman al-Qur'an*, and *Tadhkira*, a biography of 'unusual shape,' give ample idea of his spiritual insight. 'He ruminated on the three stages of experience—desire, love, and truth...he

passed, he says, from a half-way house into the discovery of liberty and truth.'

'The world in whose tavern of oblivion had been poured into me the wine of heedlessness, whose visions tempted my eyes, whose melodies charmed my ears, that same world so transformed itself now that every little piece of it was a picture of sobriety and wisdom, a lesson for the seeing eye and the knowing mind, every particle was eager for converse, every leaf was a document...the heavens descended to answer questions....' So love '...opened the door of learning; it taught me the truth of action; it had the books of divine wisdom on its tongue, the treasures of true knowledge were in its generous hands. It taught me across the hills and valleys of the *tariqa*, it revealed the secrets of the Qur'an and initiated me into the mysteries of the *sunna*, it gave me wisdom, it bestowed on me a sensitive heart....'⁷ Azad earned the right to 'simplify' and 'universalize' Islam. He could declare: 'I am under no obligation for guidance to any man's hand or tongue, nor to my family nor to any syllabus of education. All the guidance I have received has been from the Divine Throne.'⁸

Now from the *Tarjuman al-Qur'an*:

The more I dashed my hands and feet
against the waves,
The more woefully perplexed did I feel.
But when I ceased to struggle
and lay motionless,
The waves of their free will drifted me
across to the shore.⁹

This is what Sufism is in Islam. Swami Vivekananda says, 'Religion is not talk, or doctrines, or theories; nor is it sectarianism. Religion cannot live in sects and societies. It is the relation between the soul and God.... Religion does not consist in erecting temples, or building churches, or attending public worship. It is not to be found in books, or in

5. *Modern Approach*.

6. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, *Tarjuman al-Qur'an*, quoted in *Azad Memorial Volume*, p. 92. [Hereafter *Memorial Volume*.]

7. *Memorial Volume*, pp. 147-8.

8. *Memorial Volume*, p. 92.

9. *Tarjuman al-Qur'an*, p. xvi.

words, or in lectures, or in organisations. Religion consists in realisation.¹⁰ According to Swami Vivekananda, religion is 'the struggle to transcend the limitations of the senses.'¹¹ This is precisely what the Sufis are trying to do.

The great eleventh century Sufi, Ghazali, had written these words during his last illness; the writing was discovered after his death under his bed:

A bird I am: this body was my cage,
But I have flown leaving it as a token.¹²

Sufism is the mystic tradition of Islam. Though a separate article on Sufism follows mine, I wish to touch upon its salient features here. Otherwise, the study of Islam in the past millennium would be incomplete. Sufism is Islam's greatest contribution to human civilization. It is the greatest devotional achievement that a religion born in the deserts of Arabia could ever have. Sufism is the inner voice of Islam—away from religious and formal rigours—an outcome of the Koran and the Prophet. The Sufis chant, 'God is everywhere'. They say, 'Admire God in everything.' The Sufis owe their very existence to Almighty God, seeking His love here and now. Not only that, they wholeheartedly believe that Prophet Muhammad is the first Sufi who, by his life and lifestyle, inspires the Sufis for all time to come. Hence the Koran, in the first place, invokes the spirit of sacrifice and yearning for God in the heart of the Sufi. And in the second place, the Prophet, through his austere living and compassionate approach to life and this mortal world, directs the Sufis to a path which is above greed and gluttony, covetousness and hatred. A Sufi's life is totally given to realization of God in his own

self. His is the life of a wanderer—a wanderer in quest of God. Owing to the Prophet's having all such qualities, some Sufis declared him to be 'the supreme exponent of disciplined mystical ecstasy.'

Why did the Sufi discover the essence of Sufism in the Prophet? The best possible answer is to be found in these words of the Prophet himself: 'Poverty is my pride.' The founder of Islam lived a humble and lowly life. His only concern was God. He appealed to God thus: 'O God, make me live and die a lowly life, and rise from the dead among the lowly.' As if it was not enough, he further said, 'On the Day of Resurrection, God will ask, "Bring ye my loved ones?"'. To God, the poor and the destitute are his loved ones. Poverty brings out two virtues, say the Sufis: it encourages abstemiousness and eschewing unlawful pleasure, and stimulates trust in God. For a religion is meaningless, faith is meaningless, if the believer cannot give himself or herself up wholly to God, sacrificing all else in life. Thus, mindless rituals, lifeless formalism, and soul-less religious practices are not the aim of the Sufis. The Sufi faith in God goes to such heights: 'If ye trusted in God as ye should, He would sustain you even as He sustains the birds, which in the morning go forth hungry and return in the evening filled.' God's love pervades the whole world. The Prophet reported God as saying, 'My earth and my Heaven contain me not, but the heart of my faithful servant containeth Me.'¹³ Again, God is stated to have said, 'I was a hidden treasure, and I desired to be known; therefore I created the creation in order that I might be known.' Sufis have taken special care to make the most of this statement, declaring that man is the object of God's love. By 'man' is, of course, meant the ideal man.

Who is an ideal man? According to the Sufi, the ideal man is he who is always aware of God's affection for creation. He has created all this and is conscious of truth. Truth is God,

10. Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works* (Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1989), Vol. 4, pp. 179-80. [Hereafter *Complete Works*.]

11. *Complete Works*, Vol. 2, p. 59.

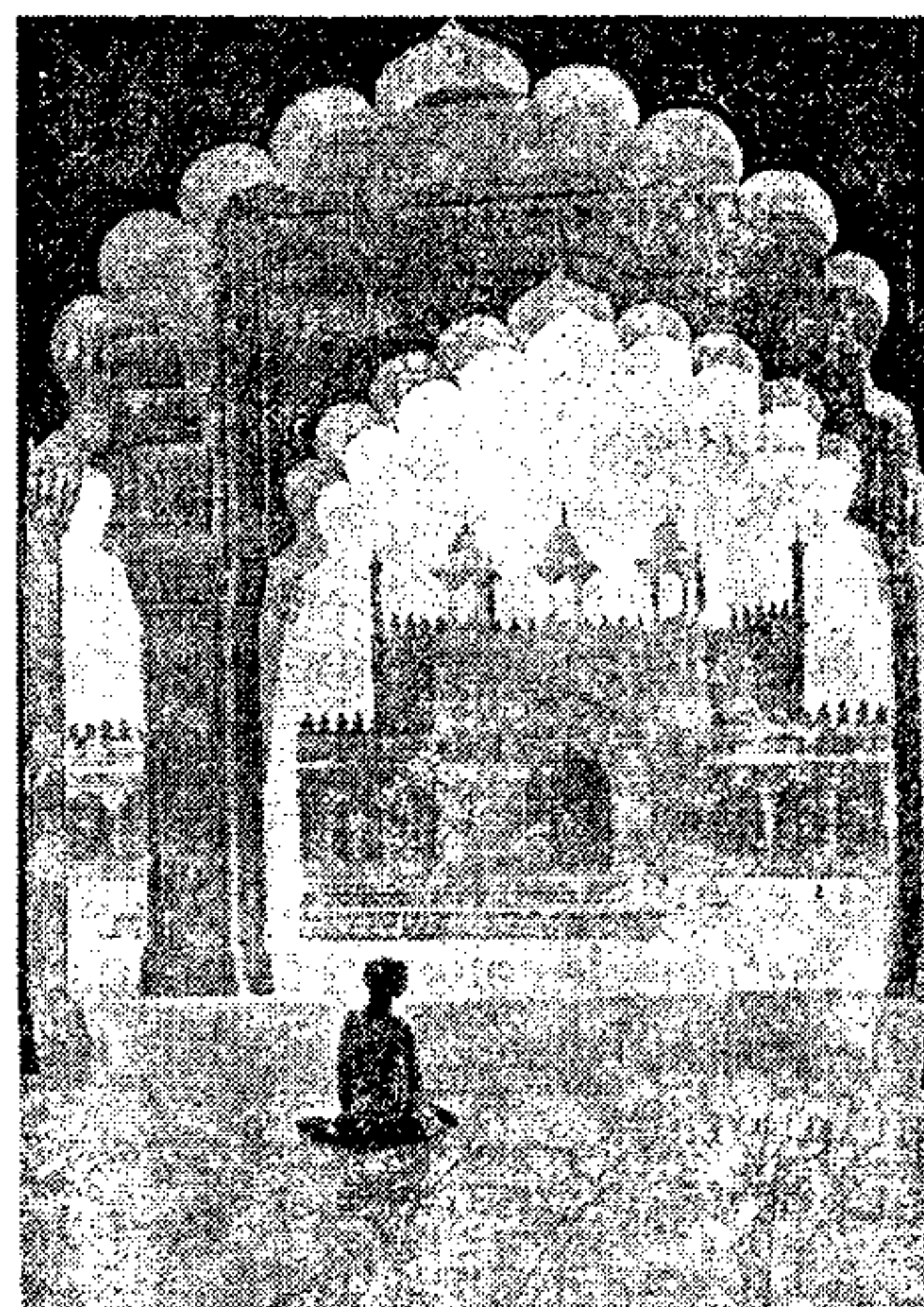
12. British Museum MS Or.7561, f.86. The whole poem is translated in Margaret Smith, *Al-Ghazali the Mystic* (London, 1944), pp. 36-7.

13. A.J. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 25.

and God is Truth. It was at this point that orthodox Islam could not accept the Sufis. The reason was the Sufi's hunger for direct intimacy with Truth. This state of affairs dismays conservative Muslims till today. But the straightforward approach to God and the universe became the sheet anchor of the Sufis. This attitude has been very aptly interpreted by scholars: 'The strong development of Sufism associated with such teachers as the Brethren of Purity and Al-Muhasibi in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era largely came in protest against increasing formalism of Muslim theology.'¹⁴

History has it that orthodox Islam's failures in the early period became its success in another sense. Orthodoxy weakened, giving place to liberalism. Sufism liberalized Islam by emphasizing the devotional spirit, seeking divine Knowledge, and rejecting reason and revelation defined dogmatically. It discounts what Muslim theology calls *aql* (intellect) and *naql* (transmitted truth) and concentrates on *kashf* (discovery), in which the meaning of faith and truth is given in experimental immediacy to the seeking soul. This insight is the reward of the path of knowledge which involves discipline and the ascetic life.¹⁵

It is clear now that Sufis are essentially spiritual and not intellectual. 'Muhammad is the exemplar of the path. He exemplifies faith as an attitude rather than dictate it as dogma.' The Sufis ardently accept the Koran as 'the textbook in the method,' but it must be according to their own understanding. They keep on changing, designing, synthesizing. So they can scarcely conceptualize. At best they can say, 'Come where I am; I can show you the way.'¹⁶ Thus, a Sufi protests, aspires, seeks. He defies the *Hadith*, law and theology. Nevertheless he always submits for 'religious fulfilment.' To attain the goal, Sufis have de-



Shahjahan's Moti Masjid

signed a language which is most vital for a dialogue between God and man. It is right language that can unify the individual soul, break down barriers between human and divine discourse, and enable the mystic to come near to the Reality that he is attempting to experience. In religious terms, this is a quest for unity with the Divine through humanistic terms. It is an effort to overcome division, to realize the Truth and attain wholeness of being.

Islamic mysticism has given the world a number of celebrities who have enriched our civilization. Among them are Rabia, Hallaj, Al-Ghazali, Ibn al-Arabi. Jalaluddin Rumi (1207-1273) was one of the greatest of Sufis in Persia. In one of his quatrains, he says:

Awhile, as wont may be
self I did claim.
True self I did not see,
but heard its name.
I, being self-contained,
self did not merit,
Till leaving self behind,
did self inherit.

Rumi declares that self-centredness is anathema to realizing God. He adds: 'All this talk and turmoil and noise and movement is out-

14. Kenneth Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret*, p. 134.
[Hereafter *The Call*.]

15. *The Call*, p. 135.

16. *The Call*, p. 136.

side of the veil of silence and calm and rest. Dost thou hear? There comes a voice from the brooks of running water. But when they reach the sea they are quiet, and the sea is neither augmented by their incoming nor diminished by their outgoing.'

No discussion on Sufism is complete without reference to Persian poets. In fact, Sufism has flourished in Persia and India more than anywhere else. Indian Vedanta and Buddhism, Persia's poetry and eclecticism—all combined to enrich Sufism. In the process, Sufism developed into 'an ethic' and a 'subtle metaphysic.' Its soul is found in a Persian quatrain:

I sought a soul in the sea,
and found a coral there;
Beneath the foam for me,
an ocean all laid bare.
Into my heart's night,
along a narrow way
I grope, and lo, the light,
an infinite land of day.

Annemarie Schimmel is an internationally known authority on Rumi. In her famous book, *I am Wind, You are Fire*, she has this to say about al-Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, generally known by his father's name as Mansur, ('the victorious'): 'Hallaj, who is famed for his statement "*Ana'l haqq*, I am the creative Truth" (or as it is interpreted, "I am God"), was cruelly executed in Baghdad on 26 March 922. His name became a symbol for the suffering lover of God, and later also to those who claimed the essential unity of all Being; intoxicated with the wine of Divine Love, Hallaj divulged the secret of the essential unity of Being, or also of the loving union between creature and Creator.'

Maulana Rumi supplements Hallaj in the most telling manner:

What is to be done, Muslims?
I, myself, do not know.
I am neither Christian nor Jew,
neither Magian nor Muslim.
I am not from east or west,
nor from land or sea,

I am not from the quarries of nature,
nor from the spheres of heaven,
I am not of earth, nor of water,
nor of air, nor of fire...
I am not from India, nor from China...
My place is placeless,
my trace is traceless.
No body, no soul,
I am from the soul of souls....

This is the best example of 'holy worldliness' and 'religion-less-ness' of Sufism. This is what a modern Christian would say 'prayer-in-action' and this helps one to see the meaning of St John's 'doing the truth.'

It is by taking into account the meaning of Islam and other factors that we can find new forms of Islam and modern human ideals which are developing every day. This approach to Islam is a sharing in God's love for the world; it continues the action of God himself in coming to meet man on his (man's) own terms. This action is not to be confused with proselytizing. Rather, it is the search for the dialogue in which Hindus and Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists should be invited to join in. Together with the rethinking, there is need for a study of Indian Islam and the Indian Muslim. This study should embrace not only Islamic sociology or philosophy but also everything which makes up the Muslim character both as it actually is and as the Muslim would like it to be. The aim is the establishment of a dialogue which, by its authenticity, can lead to a meaningful dialogue between Hindus and Muslims in India and Christians and Muslims in Europe.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, lecturing in Persian on nationalism in Calcutta (1872), praised love of mankind above all else, quoting the Persian poet Shaikh Sa'di Shirazi: 'People are organically related to each other, since their creation is from the same soul. When a limb throbs with pain, all other organs share the pain.' According to a well-known Islamist Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Persia and India have greatly contributed to the making of Sufism. Persia's Pahlavi and In-

dia's Sanskrit have made Sufism what it is today. He goes so far as to suggest that '...Persian and Indian learning, written mostly in Pahlavi and Sanskrit, became as significant as the Greco-Alexandrian learning in Greek and Syriac. This school became important especially in medicine and astronomy and by the seventh century AD it was probably the most important medical center in the world, combining the scientific traditions of the Greeks, the Persians, and the Indians.'¹⁷

In the year 2000, we are in a better position to say this: either we co-exist or we become co-extinct. And the decision must be made radically. In 1930, delivering lectures at Manchester College, Oxford, titled *The Religion of Man*, Rabindranath Tagore said: 'There are thinkers who advocate the doctrine of the plurality of worlds which can only mean that there are worlds that are absolutely unrelated to each other. Even if this were true it could never be proved. For our universe is the sum total of what Man feels, knows, imagines, reasons to be, and of whatever is knowable to him now or in another time. It affects him differently in its different aspects, in its beauty, its inevitable sequence of happenings, its potentiality; and the world proves itself to him only in its varied effects upon his senses, imagination and reasoning mind.'¹⁸

The Sufis appreciate Tagore very much indeed. They ardently believe what the Koran says emphatically: 'Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion.' The Sufis equally appreciate Swami Vivekananda's ideal of a universal religion: 'What then do I mean by the ideal of a universal religion? I do not mean

any one universal philosophy, or any one universal mythology, or any one universal ritual held alike by all; for I know that this world must go on working, wheel within wheel, this intricate mass of machinery, most complex, most wonderful. What can *we* do then? We can make it run smoothly, we can lessen the friction, we can grease the wheels, as it were. How? By recognising the natural necessity of variation.'¹⁹ The Sufis have recognized this 'necessity of variation.' 'Sufism is a kind of reformation-in-reverse. It creates a quasi-church,' says Ernest Gellner. Nevertheless, Sufism is a movement within Islam. The Sufis assert that all religions are equal in their 'worth' or 'essence' or 'aim'.

Let me summarize with a quotation from Diana L. Eck's *Encountering GOD*: 'For Muslims, the revelation of the Qur'an in the "night of power" is not a parochial revelation meant for the ears of Muslims alone, but a revelation to all people, before which the proper response is Islam, literally "obedience". For Muslims, aligning one's life with the truth God has revealed, which is what Islam means, makes all believers muslims with a small "m". Similarly, when Hindus quote the words of the Rig Veda, "*Ekam sat vipra bahudha vadanti*, Truth is one, but the wise call It by many names"—they are not claiming this to be the case only for Hindus, but to be universally true. Similarly, Christians who speak of the Christ event do not speak of a private disclosure of God to Christians alone but of the sanctification of humanity by God, a gift to be claimed by all who will but open the eyes to see it. In the words of Charles Wesley, "The arms of love that circle me would all mankind embrace.'" □

17. *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 1, p. 639.

18. Rabindranath Tagore, *The Religion of Man*, p. 15.

19. *Complete Works*, Vol. 2, p. 382.

The soul is veiled in the body; God is veiled by the soul. So long as we do not die to ourselves and are not indifferent to creatures, the soul will not be free.

—Fariduddin Attar

WORLD RELIGIONS: SUFISM

Sufism During the Past Millennium: A Survey

DR LLEWELLYN VAUGHAN-LEE

We thank Dr Vaughan-Lee, President, The Golden Sufi Center, California, USA, for a brilliant retrospective view of Sufism. It was during the previous millennium that this great religious order grew and flourished. Dr Vaughan-Lee presents Sufi philosophy and the impact of this order on the world.

Sufism is without form.

—Ibn El-Jalali

The Journey from Separation to Union

Sufism is a mystical path of love in which God, or Truth, is experienced as the Beloved. The inner relationship of lover and Beloved is the core of the Sufi Path. Through love the seeker is taken to God. The mystic seeks to realize the Truth in this life and God reveals Himself within the hearts of those who love Him.

The mystical experience of God is a state of oneness with God. This *unio mystica* is the goal of the traveller, or wayfarer, on the mystical path. Within the heart lover and Beloved unite in love's ecstasy. The wayfarer begins the journey with a longing for this state of oneness. The longing is born from the soul's memory that it has come from God. The soul *remembers* that its real home is with God and awakens the seeker with this memory. The spiritual journey is a journey that takes us back home, from separation to union. We

have come from God and we return to God.

The mystical journey home is a journey inward, to the very centre of our being, where the Beloved is eternally present. He whom we seek is none other than our own eternal nature. The mystic experiences that the Beloved dwells within his own heart, not as a concept but as a living reality. In the depths of the heart there is no separation between the lover and the Beloved. Here we are eternally united with God, and the mystical experience of union is a revelation of what is always present.

Sufism is the ancient wisdom of love, how to activate the heart, how to work with the currents of love so that the human being is taken back to God. Since the beginning of time there have been masters of love, spiritual teachers who understood the ways of the heart, how to activate and channel this latent power within the human being. They carry the knowledge of how to awaken the longing that the soul has for God and help the lover live this longing, of how to allow this longing to fulfil itself so that the lover comes to experience nearness, intimacy, and finally union with God. This is the wisdom of the Sufis, the ancient path of love that has always been here, long, long before they were called Sufis.

There is a story about a group of mystics, a band of lovers of God, who were called the Kamal Posh. Kamal Posh means blanket wearers, for their only possession was a blanket which they wore as a covering during the day and used as a blanket at night. As the story goes they travelled throughout the an-





cient world from prophet to prophet but no one could satisfy them. Every prophet told them to do this or to do that, and this did not satisfy them. Then one day, at the time of Muhammad, the Prophet was seated together with his companions when he said that in a certain number of days the men of the Kamal Posh would be coming. So it happened that in that number of days this group of Kamal Posh came to the Prophet Muhammad. And when they were with him, he said nothing, but the Kamal Posh were completely satisfied. Why were they satisfied? Because he created love in their hearts, and when love is created, what dissatisfaction can there be?

Sufism is not limited by time or place or form. It always was and always will be. There will always be lovers of God. And the Kamal Posh recognized that Muhammad knew the mysteries of the heart. They stayed with the Prophet and were assimilated into Islam. And later these wayfarers became known as Sufis, perhaps in reference to the white woollen blanket, *sūf*, which they wore, or as an indication of their purity of heart, *safā*, for they were also known as the pure of heart.

Friends of God

In the early days of Sufism very little was written down; there were just luminaries, saints, friends of God, *wali*, who lived their own spiritual passion, their deepest devotion. One such saint was Rābi'a, a woman who was born into slavery, but whose owner was so impressed by the intensity of her devotion that he gave her her freedom. She became

known for stressing the love that exists between the mystic and God. Always looking towards God, she cared for nothing that might distract from or interfere with this relationship. She was once asked, 'Do you love God?' 'Yes,' she replied. 'Do you hate the devil?' 'No, my love of God gives me no time to hate the devil.'

Rābi'a's prayer emphasizes the mystical rejection of everything but God: 'O Lord, whatever share of this world thou dost bestow, bestow it on thine enemies. And whatever share of the next world doth thou giveth me, give it to thy friends. Thou art enough for me.' An outer love affair may give us a semblance of fulfilment, but the intense inner love that belongs to the mystical relationship with God gives us a fulfilment that is total and absolute. Until you have tasted the degree of this inner fulfilment, you hardly dare dream that it is possible. But as the wayfarer walks along the path, as the lover comes closer to her Beloved, this fulfilment gets deeper and deeper, more and more complete; and you know, with a certainty that is born of experience, that only the Beloved can give you what you need. In the words of Rābi'a, 'Thou art enough for me.'

For the Sufi everything is given through love, within the heart. And it is given because our Beloved wills: 'Allāh guides to Allāh whom He wills.' The work of the Sufi wayfarer is really a work of preparation, to empty the cup of oneself so that He can fill it with the wine of love, the intoxicating



substance of His love for us. The mystic knows that the only obstacle between us and our Beloved is our own self, as the tenth-century Sufi al-Hallāj passionately expressed:

Between You and me there lingers
an 'it is I' which torments me.
Ah! lift through mercy this 'it is I'
from between us both.

The lover longs to burn in the fire of love until he is empty, so that his Beloved can fill his heart with the wine of divine remembrance, with the taste of nearness, with the intimacies of love. He calls us to Him and we turn away from the world back to our Beloved, so that He can reveal the secret He has placed within our hearts, the wonder of oneness, the innermost union of lover and Beloved.

Ibn 'Arabi and Jalaludin Rūmī

The early Sufi mystics lived their mystical passion. Their teaching was their life and although their sayings were collected by their followers there was no doctrine. But by the twelfth century Sufi teachings began to be organized into a mystical system. In 1165 one of the greatest exponents of metaphysical doctrine, Ibn 'Arabi, was born in Spain.

Ibn 'Arabi had his first mystical experiences, his first immersion in the oneness of God, when he was quite young. He wrote over four hundred books, but at the core of

his mystical teaching is the idea of the unity of being, that everything is one and everything is a part of God. Everything is God; He is the cause of everything, the essence of everything and the substance of everything. There is no other existence than He. Ibn 'Arabi writes:

When the mystery—of realizing that the mystic is one with the Divine—is revealed to you, you will understand that you are no other than God and that you have continued and will continue.... Then you will see all your actions to be His actions and your essence to be His essence.... There is nothing except His Face, 'whithersoever you turn, there is the Face of God.'

Ibn 'Arabi became known as the greatest sheikh (sheikh is the term for a Sufi teacher). And he also became known as the 'pole of knowledge' for the tremendous mystical understanding and insights he left behind.

Four years after Ibn 'Arabi's death in 1240, a meeting took place that was to inspire some of the world's greatest writings on mystical love. A theology professor was walking home from school when he met a ragged dervish. The professor was Jalaludin Rūmī and the dervish, Shams-i Tabrīz. According to one story Rūmī fell at Shams' feet and renounced his religious teaching when the dervish recited these verses:

If knowledge does not liberate
the self from the self,
Then ignorance is better
than such knowledge.

Shams-i Tabrīz was the spark that ignited the fire of divine love within Rūmī, who summed up his life in the two lines:

And the result is not more
than these three words:

I burnt, and burnt, and burnt.

Shams had awakened in him a fire that could only be satisfied with union, with the ecstatic loss of the self in the presence of the Beloved. Shams was the divine sun that lighted Rūmī's life. But one day Shams disappeared, possibly murdered by one of Rūmī's sons who was





jealous of his father's intense love for the wandering dervish. Without Shams Rūmī was consumed with grief, lost alone in the ocean of love.

But from the terrible pain of outer separation and loss was born an inner union as he found his beloved within his own heart. Inwardly united with Shams, the theology professor was transformed into love's poet. Rūmī knew the pain of love and the deepest purpose of this fire within the heart, how it empties the human being and fills him with the wine of love:

Love is here like the blood
in my veins and skin,
He has annihilated me
and filled me only with Him.
His fire has penetrated
all the atoms of my body,
Of 'me' only my name remains;
the rest is Him.

Rūmī became the poet of lovers, expressing the crazy passion of the soul's desire for God. Rūmī's words, spoken centuries ago, ring in the soul of every lover, every wayfarer who seeks to follow this passion that is in the innermost of our being, the pathway in the soul that leads back to the Beloved. His major work, the *Mathnawi*, became known as 'The Qur'an in Persian.' And today he is the world's most popular poet, which speaks of the need we have to hear these stories of divine love, to hear from a master of love how the heart can sing, cry, and burn with passion for God. His words answer an inner hunger

for what is real, for a love affair that belongs to the soul and not to the personality.

Rūmī covers the spectrum of divine love: the haunting cry of the reed flute suffering separation from the reed bed, the laughter of lovers, the need to be naked, how 'the mystic dances in the sun hearing music others don't.' With the language of love he tells us the mystery of things. He reminds us of an un-lived sorrow and an uncontainable joy, of the limitless horizon of the heart and the need for our heart's true Friend.

Sufi Orders, Tariqas

Rūmī is known not only as a poet but also as the founder of the Mevlevi order, often known as the Whirling Dervishes on account of their mystical dancing. While the work of Ibn 'Arabi, Rūmī, and others established a literature for Sufism, the founding of the different Sufi orders, or *tariqas*, was an important development in the practical application of Sufi teachings.

By the eleventh century the small groups that gathered around a particular teacher had begun to form into *tariqas*, each one bearing the name of its initiator. The essence of each order is the tradition transmitted from teacher to disciple in an uninterrupted chain of transmission. Different orders can be distinguished by the basic practices and princi-



ples which they inherit from their founder.

The first order to emerge was the Qādiriyyah, founded by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (d. 1166) in Baghdad. 'Abd al-Qādir was an ascetic, missionary, and preacher who became one of the most popular saints in the Islamic world, and his tomb in Baghdad is a place of pilgrimage.

At about the same time the Rifā'iyya order was founded by Ahmad ar-Rifā'i (d. 1182) and spread from Iraq through Egypt and Syria. Until the fifteenth century it was one of the most popular orders. The Rifā'iyya dervishes were known as the Howling Dervishes because they practised a loud *dhikr*. They also became notorious for strange practices like eating snakes, cutting themselves with swords, and dancing in fire without being hurt.

In total contrast is the sobriety associated with the Naqshbandiyya, named after Bahā ad-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1390), but started by 'Abd'l-Khāliq Ghijduwānī (d. 1220). The Naqshbandis are also known as the Silent Sufis because they practise a silent rather than vocal *dhikr*. They do not engage in *samāc*, sacred music or dance, and do not dress differently from ordinary people. Another aspect of the Naqshbandi path is the *suhbat*, the close relationship of master and disciple. The order

was very successful in Central Asia, and spread throughout India due to the work of Ahmad Sirhindī (d. 1624).

In addition to these Sufi orders there are many others, including the Chishtiyya, named after Mu'in ad-Dīn Muhammad Chishtī, a thirteenth-century Indian saint. Sacred music and dance are an important part of the Chishtiyya meetings. Among other Sufi orders are the Bektashiyya, who are noted for allowing men and women to meet together, the Khalvatiyya order which believes in attaining spiritual perfection through seclusion, and Rūmī's Mevlevī order. There are also numerous branch orders.

Each Sufi path can be likened to the spoke of a wheel that leads from the rim, the religious law, to the hub, the heart of hearts, the Beloved. Each *tariqā* has its own practices and principles to help the wayfarer on this journey, to transform his physical, mental, psychological, and spiritual make-up so that he is able to experience the Truth that is within the heart. Seekers are attracted to the path that best suits their own nature. Once accepted or initiated they are guided by the sheikh, the representative of the tradition, and also by all those who have travelled this path before them, the superiors of the order, through whom the power and presence of the tradition are passed.

Truth Beyond Form

Whatever form Sufism takes, simple or scholarly, silent or with music and dance, it speaks of a truth that is beyond any form. Rūmī says this clearly in the story of Moses and the shepherd. After Moses criticizes a shepherd for praying to God in his own simple language and not using the appropriate terms, God rebukes him, saying:

I have given each being
a separate and unique way
Of seeing and knowing
and saying that knowledge.
What seems wrong to you
is right for him.
What is poison to one



is honey to someone else....

Hindus do Hindu things.

The Dravidian Muslims in India

do what they do.

It's all praise, and it's all *right*....

Moses

Those who pay attention

to ways of behaving

and speaking are one sort,

Lovers who burn

are another.

For lovers of God there are no rules of worship; in the words of Rūmī, 'The Love-Religion has no code or doctrine. Only God.' As Moses finally tells the shepherd, 'Say whatever and however your loving tells you.' The real prayer of the Sufi is beyond words, a merging of the heart of the lover into the heart

of the Beloved.

Sufism responds to the need of the time and the place and the people. Over the past thousand years it has developed and changed into many different forms. But underneath all outer appearance there is the mystical truth of 'He loves them and they love Him,' the bond of lover and Beloved that is born outside of time and stamped in the heart. When our Beloved ignites within our heart the spark of divine love, we are drawn from duality to oneness, from the isolation of our own self to the bliss of merging into love's infinite ocean. With the power of His love for us He melts the veils of separation and reveals within our heart the mystical truth of divine oneness:

I am He whom I love

He whom I love is me. □

The Wisdom of Rabia

Rabia said about proposals for her marriage, 'The contract of marriage is for those who have a phenomenal existence. But in my case, there is no such existence, for I have ceased to exist and have passed out of self. I exist in God and am altogether His. I live in the shadow of His command. The marriage contract must be asked for from Him, not from me.'

Rabia was extremely poor. One day, a wealthy merchant brought a purse of gold to the door of her cell and a friend of hers came in and told her of it. Rabia said, 'Shall not He who provides for those who revile Him, provide for those who love Him? He does not refuse to sustain one who speaks unworthily of Him, how then should He refuse to sustain one whose soul is overflowing with love for Him?'

Rabia slept very little. Yet she would say, 'O soul, how long wilt thou sleep and how often wilt thou wake? Soon wilt thou sleep a sleep from which thou shalt not wake again...'

Though she realized that fear and hope were the common motives of service to God, Rabia herself held up a higher ideal to those who sought to be saints. 'He is a bad servant,' she said to a number of sheikhs who were discussing the question with her, 'who worships God from fear and terror or from the desire of reward—though there are many of these.'

She would say, 'Seeking forgiveness (merely) with the tongue is the sin of lying. If I seek repentance of myself, I shall have need of repentance again.'

—retold from *The Way of the Mystics*

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